THE LIVING AGE

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—*World Review*, London

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THE LIVING AGE

Founded by E. Littell
In 1844

March 1941 *Volume 360, Number 4494*

The World Over

THOSE OF OUR READERS mindful of some of the preposterous Nazi propaganda designedly reprinted in this magazine in recent months will look with a skeptical and bilious eye at a Berlin "authoritative statement," issued late in February, describing in detail Herr Hitler's plans for the invasion of the British Isles. It would seem the sage of Berchtesgaden doth describe too much, or his Foreign Office does. In part it reads:

"Germany will attempt a radical military solution of the Mediterranean problem at the same time that German war leadership utilizes all chances for a direct attack on Britain. In this regard, Berlin sees the possibilities for an invasion as so numerous that it will be difficult for the British to recognize feigned actions as such. . . . It remains to be shown whether Britain has not sent her offensive power into action at the wrong point, for the smallest British harbor and the tiniest British village is more valuable as a bridgehead for German invasion and for the conclusion of the war than Libya or even Ethiopia in British hands."

Thereafter follows in more specific detail the general plan of invasion, which in brief is to blockade Britain by U-boats (at the Führer's discretion for "large-scale action"), buttressed by "surface warships" and the German air force. It is reiterated in this official statement of intentions that the strategy of a feint in the Mediterranean, together with feints of invasion at various points around the British Isles, will also so befuddle the islands' defenders that success is inevitable. Perhaps so.

It may be, as the statement avers, that the possibilities of invasion are "numerous." There are, however, two curious points about this pronouncement by the German Government. If the avenues of invasion are so plentiful,

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why has none of them been tried in the eight months since the collapse of France? The question has, of course, been asked many times before. The other odd aspect about this statement is its comparative wealth of detail. There is to be this feint and that feint, a diversion here and another there. Viewed in its entirety, the statement sounds much like whistling in the dark. At all events, it is unquestionably designed more for domestic consumption than for digestion abroad.

The tone of excessive assurance is also audible in German press consideration of the likely effects of enactment of the United States Lend-Lease Bill. The German newspaper consensus is that American aid to Britain will be too late and too little. Aside from that, the German U-boats will send to the bottom of the Atlantic any supplies in quantity that this country may send overseas. Thus the *Völkischer Beobachter*: "Between us and the Yankees is an ocean, and the Atlantic is broad enough and wide enough to give us the feeling of absolute security . . . whatever may come across the Atlantic is in any case too little for us, supported by our unassailable position on the Continent, not to be able to cope with it. Whatever comes over, 'whether with or without convoy,' will, as the Führer stated, be either torpedoed or bombed."

It will be recalled that precisely the same arguments, in almost the identical language, appeared in the German press in 1916 and 1917, before the United States entered the war. It is true that Germany at that time had almost succeeded in starving out Britain by the use of her undersea craft. But once the United States was in the war, and her destroyers had joined those of the British, the torpedoing of Allied vessels of all categories—transports, cargo-ships and supply units—was reduced to an inconsequential point, and a continuous stream of food and munitions passed from these shores to the British Isles and to continental ports.

THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT'S deprecation of any aid the United States can extend to Britain is obediently aped by Premier Mussolini. For an address in which he scoffs at the proportions such assistance might reach, he selects the inopportune and awkward moment when his armies have been destroyed, captured or scattered in North Africa, and are putting up little visible resistance in East Africa. But the Duce's ability to delude himself, if no longer all of the Italian people, is infinite and constant. Some of his misplaced sarcasm in late February may be reread and recognized as an unconsciously funny performance:

"Let me say now that what is occurring in the United States is one of the most colossal mystifications in all history. Illusion and lying are the basis of American interventionism—illusion that the United States is still a democracy, when instead it is a political and financial oligarchy dominated

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by Jews, through a personal form of dictatorship. The lie is that the Axis Powers, after they finish Great Britain, want to attack America.

"Neither in Rome nor Berlin are such fantastic plans as this prepared. These projects could only be made by those who have an inclination for the madhouse. Though we certainly are totalitarian and will always be so, we have our feet on hard ground. Americans . . . should be calm and not believe in the existence of a big bad wolf who wants to devour them."

In the past fifteen years there have been several attempts on the Duce's life. That he was to make this address was not announced until the eleventh hour, and it was then delivered in a theater, not from his exposed balcony on the Piazza Venezia. In recent weeks, Italian Government statements and Fascist newspaper editorials have denied, as ludicrous, reports abroad of strikes and rioting in the industrial centers of the country. But Mussolini in this singular address indirectly confirmed these reports by a reference to the presence in Italy of a minority of "well-known poltroons, anti-social individuals and complainers, who grumble about rations and regret their suspended comforts [and of the presence of] snakes, the remains of the Masonic lodges, whom we will crush without difficulty when and how we want."

Characteristic of anti-Fascist opinion among "free Italians" on this side of the Atlantic was a recent editorial in *La Parola* of New York, edited by Girolamo Valenti, former Socialist deputy in the Italian Parliament.

"The rapidity with which the Fascist army of Libya was captured," he wrote, "has revealed the weakness of the Duce's colossal bluff. But perhaps it was not all bluff. Perhaps Mussolini believed in all sincerity that after twenty years of effort, of wasting billions, he had built an irresistible war machine that would make the world tremble. Ignorant and vainglorious, he deluded himself into believing that he could transform the peaceful and intelligent Italian people into a gang of brutes ready to die for any cause he might name. This was to be achieved merely by collecting cannon and airplanes, by teaching the Italians how to goose-step, by putting everyone into uniforms, infants included, and also simply by giving various military units such fearful names as 'The Wolves of Tuscany,' 'The Terribles,' 'The Desperadoes,' and so on.

"But twenty years of the brutal Fascist régime have not succeeded in killing the soul of the Italians. . . . Indisputable proof of the worthlessness of the Fascist war-machine was forthcoming because it was not moved by abiding faith in the cause, and because those legions ordered to die for Mussolini and for fascism preferred, if possible, to live for Italy and liberty."

MOST READERS OF WAR NEWS are prone to overlook the effects of the European conflict on the various stock exchanges, and that is to ignore an important barometer. Such Nazi statements as that cited are not

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only aimed at bolstering civilian morale but also, it would appear, at seeking by artificial stimulants to raise the level of the Berlin Börse. The significant fact is that although the Nazis have confiscated the key industries in all the countries they occupy—coal, iron, dairying, banking, even the *coutourier* enterprises in Paris—these valuable acquisitions have, to quote a New York *Times* correspondent in the German capital, "failed to impress the market." Why? The only possible answer is that German industries are by no means convinced that Hitler will win the war and remain in possession of these stolen properties. Neither has the Berlin Börse been favorably influenced by the many indications that Italian fascism is about to go into the hands of a Nazi receivership.

IT WAS DISCLOSED late in February that the Post Office Department, since December, has destroyed more than fifteen tons of "propaganda material emanating from unregistered foreign agents residing abroad"—most of it coming from Germany, Russia, Italy and Japan. Postmaster General Walker denies that this is censorship in any respect but is merely in accordance with a section of the postal code covering "non-mailable material."

That may be so, but it is an ill-advised code. The fact is, as most readers of this magazine will agree, that the bulk of this foreign propaganda is its own worst enemy—in the United States, at least. Most of it, especially the German and Italian production, is so inept that it can rarely be published as anything other than comedy relief or as glaring examples of the art of angling one's propaganda for the wastepaper basket. The more of it that circulates in this country, the better. The American is not so doltish that any of this "unmailable material" will lead him into dangerous illusions.

A CONTRIBUTOR TO the *Latin-American World*, of London, Kenneth G. Grubb, reports his findings after a 20,000-mile journey by air in Mexico, Central and South America. The burden of his report is that Europe has lost the cultural leadership of the Latin world. The reasons for that loss are set forth by the writer as follows:

"The so-called Latin world in Europe has in recent months received a series of shocks, recovery from which can only be a process of time: Italy has decided to play second fiddle in the German orchestra, consoling herself with the frothy speeches of Mussolini, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing; Vichy is content for the moment with the eclipse of France; and even Spain, a land famed for the strong individualism of her citizens and the fervent faith of her churches, is fascinated by the pagan Swastika; Rumania, formerly one of the great outposts of the Roman Empire, has come to terms with the 'New Order.'

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"In these circumstances, we can only conclude that the leadership of the Latin World has passed across the seas to America, and the Latin-American republics have still an opportunity to preserve alive the best traditions which France in her freedom has bequeathed to all cultured society. Thus the War, which casts its shadow over the whole of Europe and which has imposed a prison of the mind from Gibraltar to Vladivostok, has opened new spheres of potential influence to the republics of Latin-America."

It may be justifiably advanced that this transference in leadership is something more than cultural. The latest available figures disclose, for example, that in January of this year the United States was Argentina's best customer—for many years past, among the major importing nations, we have been Argentina's least profitable client.

BRITAIN'S DEFENDERS are wary of surprises the Germans may attempt when and if they launch an invasion this month or next, but responsible department heads at London do not seem overly apprehensive. A German allegation and threat that their "secret weapons," often referred to by Herr Hitler, include a "nerve gas" that paralyzes and stupefies brought a rejoinder from D. M. Heilbron, professor of organic chemistry at the University of London, Sir Robert Robertson, former Government chemist, and Sir Robert Robinson, chemistry professor at Oxford. They announced that any such weapon "exists only in the minds of progagandists."

Recently, the director of the Scientific Research of the Ministry of Supply declared that "I do not imagine that there is going to be any surprise from the enemy in this war, but scientists in Britain are pursuing a line of intelligent anticipation and they have made a review of every possibility. If any surprise were sprung on us, we could promptly mobilize the scientific brains of Britain for a complete investigation and a quick answer."

Incidentally, another British scientist, the celebrated Professor A. M. Low, said a few weeks back that "death rays, microbe infection, super-deadly gases, and other 'secret weapons' of a like nature are dreams."

THE AMERICAN PRESS during the past year has reported variously on the progress of the Canadian war effort. Though recently the news has been hopeful, the products of Canadian manufacturers—even on the best-co-ordinated basis—can be no more than a drop in the bucket of Britain's needs. (Canada is so huge geographically that we need constantly to remind ourselves that there are only a few more than 10,000,000 Canadians, of whom nearly half are engaged in agriculture. The population in manufacturing and all other occupations is considerably less than that of New York City.) Political jealousies still stand in the way of a national government single-

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mindedly concentrating on the War, as in England, and there has been appalling lack of understanding between the Dominion and Home Governments on simple issues of needs and resources. Apparently, the staff work between the British Government and its "independent Dominions," before necessity arose, was no better than between the Netherlands and Belgian Governments while they still were able to maintain their disastrous fiction of neutrality.

Since, after a year and a half of war, this problem is apparently being solved, we can consider the basic reasons for it as an illustration of the slow but sure—we, as well as the Canadians, are gambling the Western Hemisphere on that being a fact—processes of democracy in international relations. In the February issue of the Kingston, Ontario, *Queen's Quarterly*, A. R. M. Lower recapitulates some of the history of progressive independence of one part of the British Empire (Hitler would call it something like the "decadence of disintegration") which slowed up mobilization of the whole for a total war. Professor Lower points out that after the Boer War, Canada began to adopt a policy of non-participation in Empire affairs: "We should not seek to know the secrets of British foreign policy because knowledge meant responsibility, and that although when the Empire was at war, Canada was at war, yet we were not obligated to take active part in all Imperial Wars." The Empire as a whole, far from the *Cavalcade* parades in London, did not whip up much enthusiasm for that particular war. In the first World War, Professor Lower writes, "our effort was confined to the supply side—the provision of men and materials for the British fighting forces. We did not get within hailing distance of the military high command. There is no record that we offered any advice on matters of military strategy and wide policy or had any ideas of importance about it. In this sphere we were probably less prominent than the Belgians.

"In the loftiest altitude of all, that of high policy, we were not such complete minors, but made a little ground. Dominions statesmen sat in the War Cabinet and while they had no access to the innermost circle of the Allies, they at least could make their voices heard in British circles. Yet a reading of Sir Robert Borden's *Memoirs* [Sir Robert was Prime Minister of Canada from 1911 to 1920] will not convince one that he was a formative figure in this sphere . . . that Canada had a significant place in the direction of the last war. Sir Robert demanded and was given an admission ticket to all the big shows, he was a zealous guardian of Canada's interests when they came up, but the vital decisions were made by others."

Professor Lower sees Mackenzie King as having had the task of destroying an outworn diplomatic unity between Canada and the Mother Country but having "halted half way over. . . . He completed the necessary and somewhat negative preparatory task of securing our freedom of action but he proved incapable of forging a positive policy. . . . 'No commitments in advance' is the time-honored basis of both British and American policy,

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arising out of the same factors in each case, insularity and internal difference of opinion. For Canada, even more insular than either and with more acute internal differences, it was also a natural policy . . . by avoiding knowledge we would avoid responsibility and yet we knew well enough that in the end we would incur all the consequences of responsibility."

He concludes, in a more nationalistic vein, that Canada "can always drive a good bargain with either Great Britain or the United States in military policy. With the one we have the ace of supply, with the other the ace of geographical position. Both will listen to us if we play our cards well."

ACCORDING TO YOUR POINT of view, it is an indication of slackness or leniency—or complete suppression of freedom of the press—that the British censorship banned the London *Daily Worker* and *The Week* (British Communist news letter) but not until January 1941. *Time and Tide* felt that, "if ever a paper and a newssheet forced the authorities to act," they did. "And we are very glad indeed that the Government has at last refused to allow them to go on trailing their coats any longer. . . . Freedom of opinion is one thing. Open preaching of defeatism and sedition is another. No country at war can afford to allow traitors to operate without taking action. That would be complacency of the worst order. It can never be safe in wartime to allow complete liberty to any group of people whose first allegiance is to another country than their own." The more leftish *New Statesman and Nation* agreed that the *Daily Worker* had been " 'asking for' suppression. . . . But it is not always wise to give people what they ask for. The case against the *Daily Worker* is, of course, overwhelming. We believe that if this island is invaded the majority of Communists would, in fact, seize hammers and sickles to drive the invader from our shores. But the official Communist policy appears to be that of 'revolutionary defeatism' in circumstances in which Lenin, the great exponent of that doctrine, would never, we believe, have preached it."

Most practical comment, from "Janus" in *The Spectator*: "It was stated in [an] issue of the *Daily Worker* that unless the paper obtained £4,000 by the end of the month—toward which £876, 4s., 4½ d. had so far been received—bills could not be paid and the paper's survival would be doubtful. It might have been as well to wait and see whether death by inanition would relieve the authorities of the necessity of passing summary sentence."

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To win, Germany must force Britain into a series of improbable blunders

Invasion Today and Yesterday

RISKS FACING HITLER

By 'MILITARY CORRESPONDENT'

Time and Tide, London Topical Weekly

THE fundamental reason in most people's view for believing that the Germans will invade this country is the politico-military one that only in this country can we be decisively defeated, and only a decisive defeat will satisfy Hitler. It may be pointed out at once that we could be defeated in this country without a single German setting foot in it, and equally that Hitler might well be content to play for a draw as causing less embarrassment at the present juncture than a decisive victory. But these *caveats* apart, if we accept the view stated in the first sentence, what are the means of invasion, what its conditions, and what its chances?

The garrison of this country consists of probably the best-trained and most intelligent army we have ever had; its leadership is an imperfectly known quantity, but General Wavell can hardly be an isolated star in an otherwise murky firmament. It is modernized, extremely mobile, well-equipped. It has a scheme of elastic defense—mobile defense which has nothing of the Maginot complex about it—based on elaborate field fortification of the most modern type; in certain places there have been stupidities and there are weaknesses, but these are in process of being in part at least overcome. There is no moral weakness in the supporting Home Guard and the ordinary citizen, knowing the Nazi, is not disposed to make his resistance passive.

The problem for Hitler is the storm of an island fortress of which the chances of treachery within are negligible. He has the three courses, or a combination of two or all—blockade, assault or the introduction of his own troops inside its perimeter. The blockade, to be successful, has to be one hundred per cent effective; that, given the resources possibly available to the two parties, is to all intents and pur-

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poses outside the bounds of possibility. He is therefore bound to use the two latter; it is impossible he should stake all on either alone.

The modern German method is a compromise between the war of mass (quantity) and picked troops (quality)—a compromise forced on Hitler by political, historical and, possibly, psychological considerations. Its application consists in the use of quality to win the battle and quantity to occupy and consolidate the ground gained. Therefore in the fighting stage we need not expect to deal with more than approximately a quarter of a million men. It will only be after these picked troops have achieved a solid, but not necessarily a final, success that Hitler can usefully bring his masses into play or dare risk removing them from their present stations. The initial use of masses is forbidden because he has no mastery of the sea; they can only be transported later when sufficient success has been obtained to make our naval concentrations difficult.

As bases of invasion by sea and/or air Hitler has the great arc—North Cape to the Loire. The distances nowhere—a 400-mile maximum—are formidable even to a naval expedition; they are negligible to one by air. But they do represent a problem. The expeditionary force faces a defense not universally qualitatively equal, but in quantity outnumbering it six to one. The first essential is to prevent instant overwhelmingly strong concentration by deception, surprise and confusion. The initial plan was simple, and like all simple plans, completely successful if it had succeeded. It was to secure mastery, by the destruction from the air, of our fighter squadrons and our bases. It failed abjectly against inferior numbers, and will not be tried again in isolation against equal or superior numbers. It is to be doubted if, for such an expedition as a preliminary to a naval expedition protected from the air, Hitler could now with his present commitments concentrate definitely superior numbers.

The first step will be a reversion to the plan adopted in Holland, but without that plan's essential ingredient—wholesale treachery within. It will consist of a general landing of parachute troops all over the country, but particularly in the neighborhood of ports, communication points and centers of war industry. It might be preceded by or begun simultaneously with a sort of naval forlorn hope from the least distant point to attract attention away from parachute landings. Modern troop carriers and any additional means of transportation available could probably land troops at a rate impossible to estimate but, if met with little opposition, certainly formidable. Lacking treachery, the whole force might be lost rapidly; but it might do just enough damage to render possible the landing of a big expeditionary force by conventional naval methods. If it was still in part in being by the time the big force landed, the odds in favor of the latter in battle would be greatly increased.

IMAGINE the dispatch of carriers who succeeded in landing over a twenty-four hour period, or perhaps more, with some luck, well-armed

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partisans in Lanarkshire, Galloway, Lancashire, Durham, Yorkshire and Derbyshire. These are picked men, remember, gangsters with discipline and fanaticized. Long before formal bodies of our troops could be brought against them they could have wrecked communications, destroyed ports and ruined industries, especially if they were covered by a false naval landing and bombing raids, mainly with incendiaries on a colossal scale. They have only to create such a confusion that the island's garrison, already badly bombed, is split into isolated cores, in many cases unable to communicate save by dispatch rider and uncertain of what to do except to deal promptly, and no doubt in the end effectively, with the nearest enemy. Imagine that confusion followed up by some dozen attempts at naval landings with the British Navy unable definitely to concentrate on the true attack. One would oneself have no doubt of the result; but I think a neutral military critic would probably offer at least evens.

It may just be noted in passing that the possession of Eire would be invaluable, so invaluable on the map that it is more than an even chance that invasion of Eire would be the immediately prelude to the attack on Britain. Actually, the possession would embarrass by causing premature revelation of the plan, and it is at least arguable that it would be easier, given the strength and organization of our forces in Ulster, to deal with a large-scale parachutist invasion of Eire, than with a similar one in our own highly industrialized areas. In Eire there is only one objective, air bases which need a swift parachutist concentration that is suddenly vulnerable.

To return to our own country. One has painted a horrific picture to which any reader can add still more horrific details. But actually that success depends on other things. One, that the Germans do *everything* right and we do nearly everything wrong; and, two, that *all* the "luck" is on the German side. These are two conditions as near to impossible of fulfilment as no matter. That the landings should be entirely uninterrupted, that the concentration of the various parties should be completed unhindered, that there should be exactitude in both matters in time and space is too much to expect. And success, while it does not depend absolutely on these two factors, is completely dependent on a state of things after the landing which permits of the interposition of a formal body of parachutists in places which for a defined period of time prevents the easy movement of our troops by road and rail to meet the formal invasion. Further, the concentration depends first on the previous capture or technical destruction of our defending aircraft and the occupation of sufficient landing grounds to permit reinforcement and supply. Unless that is speedily possible, the weight of our equipment, superior in any case brought to bear, would be invincible. Lastly, even if the parachutists succeed in their initial aims they have so to succeed that a naval and army concentration to meet naval attack is either impossible or inferior. It may well be that the realization of these conditions is impossible.

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That invasion, ruthlessly pushed home by Hitler, regardless of loss, would cause us damage is certain; that it would lead to losses greater than those of the enemy is, humanly speaking, hardly possible. It would be a testing time for all our resources, moral and material; there is no reason to believe that the test would be too much for us. Invasion at best, however theoretically defended as a sound military measure, must be regarded as a desperate final gamble. It *might* come off, but it is a thousand-to-one chance. But it should be taken seriously. It is not a joke, but would be a scientific operation scientifically handled; only a similarly scientifically handled defense brought to high pitch by constant and unremitting vigilance will give it the fate that it must earn if we and so much else are to survive.

Ireland Never Long Invaded

National Zeitung, Basle Liberal Daily

THE WORLD over people are speculating whether Hitler, when he launches his invasion, will attempt to land troops directly on Britain, or will come by way of Ireland. Every schoolboy knows that in 1804-05 Napoleon made his abortive preparations at Boulogne to land his forces on British soil. Less well known, however, are the attempts down the years to invade England by way of Ireland.

The life ambition of Philip II was to establish the hegemony of the Spanish-Austrian monarchy in Europe, and to exterminate Protestantism. To attain these ends he repeatedly launched wars against England. An incidental was to overthrow the excommunicated Queen Elizabeth and thus please Pope Pius V. That aging Pope was prepared to sacrifice the entire fortune of the Church for a crusade against England, and he was also eager to direct that adventure in person.

Philip's preference for a landing in Ireland, as against one in England, was determined principally by the anti-British attitude of the Catholic Irish. As early as 1569, through the agency of his ambassador, Mendoza, he made overtures to groups of discontented Irishmen. A decade later he formed a small army for invasion purposes, and at its head placed one Fitzmaurice, who six years before had led a revolt in the province of Munster. Some time later, Pope Gregor XIII, the successor to Pius V, attempted to provoke a rebellion, under Fitzmaurice's leadership, by issuing a bull wherein he urged the prelates, nobles and commoners of Ireland to support Fitzmaurice, and to those so doing he pledged absolution for their sins.

To return to Philip II:

Unimpressed by the might of the British Navy, a force of Spaniards, a large number of English subjects and Irish émigrés succeeded in landing in County Kerry, and captured Carrick-

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foyle. Soon thereafter, in 1580, the Irish led by Count Desmond defeated the English governor, Grey, in the Battle of Glendalough.

The same year, Philip sent still another force of Spaniards to Ireland, and it was able to land at Smerwick harbor where it seized the Golden Fort. Evidently these successive reverses were necessary to arouse the English to organize a sufficiently large expeditionary force. Carrickfoyle was recovered, and siege was laid to Golden Fort, which also capitulated. Even the Spanish Armada, in 1588, was unable to effect a landing in Ireland.

The Spaniards did not abandon hope. In the next century, in the year 1650, a new Spanish Armada carrying 3,400 troops commanded by Don Juan del Aguila made a landing at the Irish port of Kinsale, Cork, and attempted to join forces with Irish dissidents. But this invasion force was defeated by 15,000 Englishmen, under the command of Lord Montjoy, and the port capitulated after a siege of three months.

When James II of England was deposed by his subjects in 1688, he made an attempt to recover his throne by a landing in Ireland. The following year, on March 12, French ships brought him and his supporters into Kinsale. This landing marked the first attempt of the French to invade any part of the British Isles, and it was financed by Louis XIV. The best troops of the deposed Stuart monarch were Frenchmen, commanded by the Duke de Lauzun.

William of Orange, son-in-law of James, who had been summoned to the throne, resumed the English struggle for control of Ireland, and dispatched 10,000 men under Marshal Friedrich Schomberg, a Huguenot émigré, who had once received the highest rank in the French Army but who had fled France after the Edict of Nantes. Perhaps no other man up to that time had done more in planning and organizing attacks against England, but on this occasion he was fighting his own countrymen—the supporters of James II—and helped to defeat his own former designs. He had no more than 17,000 men to oppose James' force of 30,000. The English Army, which was in possession of few places of strategic importance, suffered from lack of supplies—although they did not lack cash with which to buy, if they could. William of Orange decided to go himself to Ireland, and under the joint leadership of himself and the Hugenot Marshal, the English were victorious. But Schomberg was killed. James once again fled to France.

ANOTHER attempt at invasion by the French was made in the course of the Seven Years' War. In 1759 the French Commodore Thurot landed with 1,000 men at Carrickfergus, hoping that the Catholic Irish would join forces with him. But they did not come over, and the French commander evacuated the port on the approach of British ships.

When the French revolutionary armies waged successful war on Germany and Italy, the Republic also prepared an invasion of England. General Nicholas M. Carnot, the member of the Directory and brilliant organizer of the

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French forces, summoned to Paris Wolfe Tone, Irish lawyer and one of the leaders of the "Society of United Irishmen," together with Lord Edward Fitzgerald, another prominent Irishman. The upshot of the conference was a decision by the Directory to invade Ireland, and to place General Lazare Hoche in command of the expedition.

In December 1796, General Hoche concentrated at Brest a naval force of thirteen frigates, seven corvettes and seventeen ships of the line, which were to carry 15,000 invasion-troops to Ireland. The fleet sailed in mid-month. A terrific storm struck the ships, destroying several of the craft, and dispersing all but a few ships which eventually dropped anchor in Bantry Bay. But Hoche was stranded elsewhere on the Irish coast. Thus, at one point of the coast there was the leader without an army, and at another (the bay) an army without a commander. The second in command, the Marquis Emanuel de Grouchy (later the luckless general at Waterloo), feared that the French force was so reduced as to make a landing foolhardy, and he sailed back home.

But Hoche was to try again. In 1797 he gathered sixteen frigates to carry a Dutch force (of the Batavian Republic) of 15,000, commanded by Vice Admiral Jan Willem de Winter. On this occasion no storm intervened, but a prolonged calm kept the fleet from sailing. In that period of enforced idleness, food stores and other supplies were consumed and a further delay was necessitated by the need for new provisions. Meanwhile, Admiral Adam Duncan waited for de Winter, off the Dutch island of Texel, and on October 11 succeeded in provoking him into battle. Most of the Vice Admiral's fleet was destroyed, and thus ended that new attempt at invasion.

In spite of this crushing defeat, the Directory did not give up the idea of an invasion of Ireland. Immediately after the peace of Camp Formio, in October 1797, it ordered Napoleon to organize an "army for England," which he proceeded to do with zeal and enthusiasm. After some study, however, he advised postponement of the expedition, fearful of Britain's naval superiority. But the next year, on the outbreak of another revolt in Ireland, General Humbert of France headed an expedition of 1,100 men, aboard three frigates, and succeeded in making a landing on the shores of the Bay of Killala. British forces eventually forced his surrender.

To square accounts, Admiral Bompart set out from Brest with nine frigates, among them the *Hoche* (equipped with seventy-four cannon), and 3,000 men, pierced the British blockade and once again the French arrived at Killala Bay. But the French Admiral was set upon by Sir John Vorlay Warren, the British Commodore, and Bompart after a bitter struggle was compelled to surrender most of his invasion-fleet.

THIS was the last attempt at invasion of Ireland. None of the expeditions was successful for long.

This record of failure will not necessarily deter the Germans today, since they have different means of transportation that were unavailable to the French and Spaniards.

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Men in U. S. armed services, like those of most belligerent nations, are protected from property losses

Pigeon Wing or Caviar

By PIERRE LOVING

IN PERIODS of military emergency, when nations draft their able-bodied men for the armed services, they also begin to give thought to the civil rights of the buck private and his family. Today, in all countries, social security, unemployment and family allowances, and tax exemptions are being revalued. There is also a temporary hiatus in legal transactions in order to safeguard the home rights of the soldier and his dependents. Above all, the social and economic status of women, who carry on behind the lines, is headed for an immense revision everywhere. This change is of course oriented toward self-sufficiency but it is by no means the same today in all countries. The tempo and character of the change are determined by a cluster of factors, such as degree of military and economic preparedness, involvement in actual warfare, and threat of invasion or actual invasion.

All governments aim to pep up the morale of the civilian population, to ease the mind of the soldier in camp or at the front, and to bolster the consuming power of the nation while regulating the flow of necessities and controlling industrial output. That the necessities of life during wartime must reach the civil population is an economic axiom nowadays, if only to prevent inflation. Be that as it may, no farsighted Congress can precisely forecast how prices will curvet or what a wartime boom may do to profits and wages. Therefore, no civilian relief law can envisage all the permutations of inflation and no program of rationing supplies to the nation in a war emergency can in advance be all-seeing and wise.

Only the other day, for example, Miss Harriet Elliott, Consumer Manager of the NDAC, cautioned us against a price spiral which will send up living costs and hamper defense

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progress. Special studies made by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics in a dozen defense areas show that rent increases have already occurred between October 1939 and November 1940. Average increases ranged from 6 per cent in some cities to as much as 29 per cent in others and were usually greatest in the lower-income rent brackets. Obviously, the status of civil rights with regard to the soldiers' families must be reviewed every few months in an unstable economy, so that no injustices may be done to the dependents of our men in the armed forces. With this in mind, the Seventy-sixth Congress last year passed the Soldiers' and Sailors' Civil Relief Act. The purpose is defined in Article I of the Act as follows:

> In order to provide for, strengthen, and expedite the national defense under the emergent conditions which are threatening the peace and security of the United States and to enable the United States the more successfully to fulfill the requirements of the national defense, provision is hereby made to suspend enforcement of civil liabilities, in certain cases, of persons in the military service of the United States in order to enable such persons to devote their entire energy to the defense needs of the Nation.

The United States is merely following the example set by other nations in shielding the civil rights of the soldier and his family. During the first World War, special allowances were provided in England if a man could prove that obligations contracted before he went into the service had to be met at a certain time in order to head off grave financial loss. These allowances covered installment payments, rent, interest payments due on loans and mortgages, rents and taxes, insurance premiums, and outgo for children's schooling.

In England today, the distinction between civilian and soldier has practically evaporated, so that the British Government, while the Luftwaffe pours lethal destruction from the skies over London, has found it necessary to set up a fund maintained by government subsidy and compulsory insurance, from which compensation is paid to everyone whose property is damaged by enemy action. Full compensation is granted for essential furniture and personal clothing to households in the lower-income brackets. Money and, if necessary, pensions are awarded to civilians suffering from war injuries.

In Canada there is, as yet, no relief act such as ours. The Canadian Government pays enlisted men $1.30 a day. Married men are required to send home $20 a month, to which the government adds $35, and $12 each for two or more children. The government has assumed control over production, eliminated luxuries and new gadgets, frozen the existing models of automobiles and refrigerators, and has introduced a Dominion-wide program of diet, health and recreation to bulwark the morale of the civilian population. Parallel with our own national defense program, the President recently domesticated the British and Canadian systems by setting up similar morale services under the aegis of the Federal Security Agency.

GERMANY under Hitler supplemented her peacetime welfare program, launched at the time of the Wei-

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mar Constitution—many of the provisions go back to the time of Bismarck—with bigger war bonuses, pensions and increased maternity benefits to the wives of men in her mechanized armies. On Hitler's fiftieth birthday, war veterans and their families were vouchsafed a special bonus, and all persons in the Reich who were recipients of small pensions were awarded fifteen marks plus five marks for every dependent.

In France at the outset of the war the Chamber of Deputies voted old-age pensions for workers and a rent moratorium for mobilized men, whose wives were excused from slamming the door in the faces of rent-collectors during or until six months after their service. In addition, daily cash payments were doled out to the families whose means of support had melted away. In France, as elsewhere, dependents of soldiers at the front were given preference in civil service and (since funerals in France are nearly always *pompier*, being solemnly ticketed as to degree of ostentation) special amounts were allowed for decent funerals in keeping with eclectic French tastes.

The French widow, also, could receive the veteran's pension in a lump sum as a *dot* in case of a second *noce*. Loans were granted to soldiers' dependents for the purchase of cheap houses, and preference was given to the poilu's family in the way of university scholarships and labor apprenticeships. In occupied France today, the payments have been suspended, and in the unoccupied section the Vichy Government has boiled thin these allowances to the proverbial homeopathic soup made from the shadow of a pigeon that had starved to death. An interesting tangent to the French system appears in the regulation that self-supporting women with husbands at the front are forced to shell out for their husbands' monthly canteen bill of beer and cigarettes.

The Soviet Union, by the law of October 10, 1939, provides allowances to families of mobilized men, including children under sixteen, or, if in school and not receiving state scholarships, under eighteen; brothers or sisters under sixteen; a father over sixty; a mother over fifty-five; and the wife, or invalid relatives who cannot work and who need assistance. The allowances start on the day mobilized Ivan or Piotr leaves the farm or factory, and continue until the survivor's pension is granted, if he is killed in action.

In Italy, the royal decree pertaining to family allotments was issued on June 7, 1937. It is chiefly aimed at encouraging large families or, as Fascist propaganda puts it, to remove obstacles of an economic nature that stand in the way of the "will to acquire a family." Family stipends are supplementary salaries added to the regular salaries of wage-earners according to size of family—a not too subtle way of confessing that the Italian worker is underpaid and that Il Duce will make up the deficiency if the worker but embarks upon prolific paternity, which will make him poor again. All heads of families with salaries of less than 2,000 lire per month, save domestic servants, are eligible for the family grants. A monthly cash sub-

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sidy is paid for each child under fourteen years of age to laborers, and to each child under eighteen years of age to white-collar workers. Wives not gainfully employed and dependent parents are also provided for. These payments, which cover accidents, sickness, pregnancy and unemployment, have been extended to take in the families of workers in military service.

The Japanese Government has not so far provided any legal method of aid or redress for the relatives and children of soldiers. The system of government by town councils, which closely resembles the old Russian system of *mirs*, is faced with the task of providing for war indigents and war widows.

If a family within the jurisdiction of a local town council is in need of aid, it is the duty of the town councilman literally to dish out the simple necessities of life for it, mostly rice and tea. After this has been secured, assistance may also be granted on a voluntary or chivalric basis by the wealthier families of the community. An over-all system of relief does not exist in Japan today. The usual explanation given is that, with Nippon's armies fighting in China and the recent speed-up in war industries, Japan suffers from a labor shortage and there is practically no unemployment of either men or women.

THE operations of the United States Soldiers' and Sailors' Civil Relief Act of 1940 can best be epitomized by citing a number of hypothetical cases and seeking to answer them by reference to the provisions of the Act.

Let us start by taking the case of John S., and Mary, his wife, who were both working when John was drafted. Mary's salary was big enough to take care of herself and their small daughter for the year John was in the Army, but Mary lost her job shortly after he left, and has not been able to find work again. She has no other source of income, and as she is now several months in arrears on her rent, the landlord threatens to evict her. Someone told her about the Soldiers' and Sailors' Relief Act, and upon investigation, she discovered that Article III, Section 300 provides that

> No eviction or distress shall be made during the period of military service in respect of any premises for which the agreed rent does not exceed $80 per month, occupied chiefly for dwelling purposes by the wife, children, or other dependents of a person in military service, except upon leave of court granted upon application therefor or granted in an action or proceeding affecting the right of possession.

Bill J. heard that the Act provided that articles being bought on the installment plan could not be repossessed during a draftee's term of military service, and when he was drafted he planned to buy a new car for his family, thinking that he would not have to make any payments on it while in the Army. The automobile dealer, however, insisted that Bill sign an agreement by which he, the dealer, however, would be able to repossess the car if Bill failed to keep up the installments over his period of service. Bill's lawyer friend explained that even if the dealer had not insisted on such an agreement, he would not have been able to keep the car without making

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payments on it, since Article VI, Section 600 provides that

> Where in any proceeding to enforce a civil right in any court it is made to appear to the satisfaction of the court that any interest, property, or contract has since the date of the approval of this Act been transferred or acquired with intent to delay the just enforcement of such right by taking advantage of this Act, the court shall enter such judgment or make such order as might lawfully be entered or made, the provisions of this Act to the contrary notwithstanding.

and Article III, Section 303 further provides that

> No court shall stay a proceeding to resume possession of a motor vehicle . . . or for an order of sale thereof, where said motor vehicle . . . (is) encumbered by a purchase money mortgage, conditional sales contract, or a lease or bailment with a view of purchase, unless the court shall find that 50 per centum or more of the purchase price of said property has been paid, but in any such proceeding the court may . . . require the plaintiff to file a bond . . . conditioned to indemnify the defendant, if in military service, against any loss or damage that he may suffer by reason of any such judgment.

Several years ago Joe D. took out an insurance policy. He's been drafted, and although his dependents will have enough income to live on, Joe finds that he cannot meet his insurance premium, and is afraid he will have to let the policy lapse. However, Joe can apply for one of the benefits under the Relief Act, and according to Article IV, Section 405,

> No policy which has not lapsed for the nonpayment of premium before the commencement of the period of military service of the insured, and which has been brought within the benefits of this article, shall lapse or be forfeited for the nonpayment of premium during the period of such service or during one year after the expiration of such period.

If Joe had been a year or more in arrears on his premium payments, or if he had borrowed more than 50 per cent of the cash surrender value of his policy, he would not have been eligible for this benefit. The maximum amount of insurance that can be so protected is $5,000, either on one policy or the total of several.

WHILE he is putting in his military service, Jim C. is afraid that his farm and house may be sold for taxes, and he wants to know if the Act provides any relief for him. Article V, Section 500, pt. 2, states that

> When any person in military service, shall file with the collector of taxes . . . an affidavit showing (a) that a tax or assessment has been assessed upon (real property owned and occupied for dwelling, agricultural, or business purposes by a person in military service or his dependents) . . . (b) that such tax or assessment is unpaid, and (c) that by reason of such military service the ability of such person to pay such tax or assessment is materially affected, no sale of such property shall be made to enforce the collection of such tax or assessment, or any proceeding or action for such purpose commenced, except upon leave of court . . . .

George H. has had his application for a homestead entry allowed, and would have made final proof on such entry in the next year if he had not been drafted. He thinks that his inability to meet certain residence and cultivation requirements on account of his absence will make him liable for suit on the grounds of abandonment. He has learned of Art. V., Sec. 501, pt. 1, of the Relief Act, from a neigh-

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bor, also called up in the draft, which provides that:

> No right to any lands owned or controlled by the U. S. initiated or acquired under any laws of the U. S., including the mining and mineral leasing laws, by any person prior to entering military service shall during the period of such service be forfeited or prejudiced by reason of his absence from the land or his failure to perform any work or make any improvements thereon,

and he wonders if the Act makes any such provisions for homesteaders. It does. Section 502 provides that:

> If any person whose application for a homestead entry has been allowed . . . after such entry or application enters military service . . . the Dept. of the Interior shall construe his military service to be equivalent to residence and cultivation upon the tract entered or settled upon for the period of such serive. From the effective date of this Act no contest shall be initiated on the ground of abandonment . . . .

George's brother, who has just entered a homestead claim will not, by this provision, be excused from making improvements or performing cultivation upon his claim, since Sec. 510 provides that:

> During the pendency of any war in which the U.S. may be engaged while this Act remains in force any homestead entryman shall be entitled to a leave of absence from his entry for the purpose of performing farm labor . . . nothing in this section shall excuse any homestead entryman from making improvements or performing the cultivation upon his entry required by law. The provisions of this section shall apply only to persons whose applications have been allowed or filed prior to the effective date of this Act.

The emergency conditions which the Soldiers' and Sailors' Civil Relief Act attempts to meet have been solved in various ways during the history of the country. In the Revolutionary War, for example, there were no provisions for farmers to go back to take care of their farms.

At the request of Congress the American colonies prohibited the arrest of Continental soldiers for debts under $35, and the attachment of their property for sums up to $150. The implication is that they could be arrested for debts over $35, and their property attached for sums over $150, so these provisions benefited the soldier more than his family. The possibility of losing his property by foreclosure on a mortgage was not however one of the problems of the Revolutionary soldier. Most of the creditor class were Tories, and their property, not that of the patriots', was confiscated.

The inflation and rising prices made it difficult for the families of men in the service to purchase the necessities of life. Officers in a Jersey regiment wrote to the state legislature that four months' pay would not buy a bushel of wheat for a private family, and a colonel's pay was not enough to buy oats for his horse; common labor was receiving $6 to $8 a day, four times as much as officers in the American army. Meat was a dollar to eight shillings a pound.

During the Civil War, many owners of houses, to show their complete accord with the men in the ranks, charged no rent at all to Union volunteers. State, county, and township made special levies for relief of soldiers' families, and many private enterprises, such as the repeated auction in the silver camp of Virginia City of a single

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sack of flour for thousands of dollars, helped support those in dire need. The national government paid a bounty of $300 to each enlisted man, and the state and even local governments offered additional cash inducements, which could, at the option of the soldier, be turned over to his dependents. A single soldier could collect from $500 to $800 for enlisting.

BY THE terms of the U. S. War Risk Insurance Act of October 6, 1917, the man who enlisted for service during World War I was encouraged to allot a portion of his pay to his family and dependents; and in such cases the Government made an additional allowance on the basis of the number in the family and the amount of the enlisted man's contribution to its support before he entered the service. In recognition of the fact that an enlisted man had either to give up his insurance or pay much higher premiums during the period of his active service than in peacetime, the government offered soldiers and sailors additional insurance at a peacetime level of premiums rate.

In every country today women are being trained to take the place of men in industry and public services. Mrs. Roosevelt, in mentioning the possible enlistment of women for wartime industries, was merely adumbrating future possibilities, which are now gradually taking shape. Women today are industry's reserve and this will beyond doubt in time affect their status as the wives of soldiers, who instead of garnering the harvest for themselves and their families, will be wage-earners and family heads in their own right.

Pigeon wing or caviar. Whether women and their offspring will eke along on one or feast on the other depends to a large extent on the progress and direction of national defense and the intensity of the deepening war emergency.

Registered Mail in Wartime

One of the strange quirks of censorship is that, even in wartime, registered mail remains inviolable. It can be opened for inspection and delivery and may be indefinitely delayed. But every registered letter must be accounted for, and when peace comes delivery has to be made to the proper person. After the last war it took the belligerent countries two or three years to sort out and deliver all the registered letters they had been holding "for the duration."

Today a big room at the censorship headquarters in Bermuda is devoted to the storage of registered letters addressed to enemy territory, many of them containing uncut diamonds, banknotes or negotiable bonds sent to Germany by Germans in the United States.

—*News Chronicle*, London

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Future folklorists will find in them the mythology of the present day

The Comic Strips in England

By PETER QUENNELL

New Statesman and Nation, London Independent Weekly

RIGHT round the central shrine of the temple of Angkor Vat runs a vast frieze of graphically sculptured figures. A deep arcade shelters it from the blaze of the midday sun; overhead the bats depend in withered bunches, squeaking and rustling dryly when a dream disturbs them; and along the walls slide the endless episodes of the *Ramayana*, the Monkey God among his hordes of simian warriors hastening into battle, heroes and demons and demi-divinities and their consorts and concubines. Malevolent personages have been stained a dark red by splashes of betel-juice, the good endowed with a lovely lustrous patina by the caressing touch of appreciative hands through the last six centuries. The drama flows on and on. A pilgrim who wandered round to the very end of the story might start a second circuit without being quite sure where he had begun again. Not only would the frieze satisfy his sense of drama, it would also flatter his appreciation of continuity. And, in a life made up of irregular movements and spasmodic pauses, any continuous rhythm or regularly sustained pattern is always soothing.

Hence, I suppose, the enormous, the growing and (for some of us at least) practically irresistible attraction of the modern comic strip. It has other charms (a few of which I shall attempt to detail), but none is more potent than the fact that, week after week and, if the strip is moderately successful, year after year, the same preposterous narrative straggles ahead across miles of newsprint, changing and flagging and picking itself up again, but never ending. Its protagonists belong to an ageless and dateless world. Which of her admirers, except myself, remember that Belinda Blue Eyes, whose extraordinary adventures and curious emotional vicissitudes decorate the back pages of the *Daily Mirror*,

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started life as the daughter of an English earl? Several years ago she was kidnapped by a band of vagrants: but her origins, together with the odd succession of middle-aged supporters through whose existences she has wriggled and pouted and twinkled, have long since disappeared beneath the horizon of history. The point is that she is still with us: that I shall open my eyes to Belinda tomorrow as I opened them yesterday: and that, although she will annoy me as much as ever and I shall continue to dislike her looks as I abhor her moral code, she has now become an indispensable part of the business of getting up. So it is, I imagine, for tens or hundreds of thousands of other newspaper readers. There are some satisfactions, however, to be derived from the study of contemporary comic strips that all readers of newspapers may not enjoy. Although this modern mythology has a pleasantly static side, it is also (like the mythology of the ancients) in a process of continual evolution. Watch closely and you will notice how considerations of editorial policy affect the development of certain characters! During the course of one of those solemn conferences with which every employee of an advertising agency or denizen of a newspaper office is unhappily familiar, it seems to have been decided, for example, that such and such a character—Belinda or Jane—needs, in the interests of the public, to be taken down a peg. She is over the readers' heads—not democratic enough—insufficiently sexy. And thus there occurred a moment when Jane began to unveil herself—at first with a kind of delicate deliberation, worthy of an actress on the American vaudeville stage, then with a desperate haste and speed, becoming steadily more immodest as the weeks went by. Soon there was hardly a feature of her body that we had not examined: she hopped in and out of her bath with lightning boldness. Both of her breasts were rarely concealed at the same time. . . .

Apart from the editor's policy, there is the question of the artist's nerves. The invention and maintenance of a comic-strip character is evidently an arduous task: and often, to judge by internal evidence, the draughtsman's sanity seems on the verge of breaking down. I remember, for example, one artist who, no doubt through sheer overexertion of his creative faculty, worked himself into such a desperate nervous chaos that, like a sleeper half-awakened trying to control his dreams, he got his entire caste into a system of subterranean passages beneath an ancient manor house (where they were joined by a number of family specters) but proved quite incapable of getting them out again. On Monday, the whole company would be in tangled flight across the page from left to right; on Tuesday he would repeat the action but reverse the direction. I was not surprised when the nightmare procession was suddenly cut short and the strip suspended until the artist had recovered his second wind. After a period of rest, he was able to resume work—but it was with a simpler story.

OUR English comic strips, nevertheless, are poor stuff if we compare them with their magnificent

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American prototypes. Popeye still outshines all British competitors; and, though Segar, his original draughtsman, is now dead, the one-eyed pugilist and his lean exacting sweetheart; his parasite, the pompous esurient Wimpy, and the whole picturesque assemblages of Jeeps and Goons, go jerking on through the imagination of the modern public. Jeeps, it will be remembered, consume orchids, possess mysterious electro-magnetic qualities and have an infallible knack of foretelling the future; while Goons resemble one of the queerer Eastern races described by Herodotus. Ruthless business men hunt them for their precious skins: but why—perhaps because I have missed some elucidatory instalment—I have not yet quite discovered. . . . In fantasy, as in vitality, the Americans beat us. No adult, it is true, will regret the non-appearance on this side of the Atlantic of that loathsome creation, little Orphan Annie, companioned by her equally disgusting dog —or L'il Abner, the tousled Kentucky hero—or Flash Gordon, whose only obvious merit is a hatred of totalitarian governments. The absence of Krazy Kat, on the other hand, cannot be sufficiently lamented. Not many agreeable traits are related of Mr. William Randolph Hearst; but his sponsorship of Krazy Kat is certainly one of them. For this particular strip (which is featured every afternoon in the New York *World-Telegram*) fulfils all the conditions of the perfect comic sequence. It is simple but subtle, dramatic but not obtrusive. It has its own atmosphere, its own idiosyncratic language and takes place in surroundings peculiar to itself. Both the imaginary landscape of the moon and the mountains of New Mexico seem to have entered into the composition of that desert world where Krazy Kat sits meditatively on a fossil log, his eyes focused very often on a single brickbat, or leans against a lost lamp post in the heart of the wilderness, environed by rocky shapes that would appeal to Salvador Dali. The author of this strip is an instinctive surrealist. Better still, he has the ingenuity of the natural myth-maker. It is among such images, beneath drifts of decaying wood-pulp, that future folklorists will discover the real mythology of the age we live in.

The Duce, Before Libya

When Roosevelt says he fears the Fascist countries, after conquering Europe, may also think of conquering America, he is uttering a falsehood and an absurdity, if he alludes to a conquest by force of arms. But the poor man is not the least mistaken if he foresees the moment when the totalitarian idea and system will spread throughout the world and cause their influence to be felt, sooner or later, in the two Americas. American capitalism is rightly alarmed.

—*Radio Roma* (December 1940)

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Recruiting has been limited to districts where the Congress Party has few members

Britain's Wartime Problem in India

National Zeitung, Basle Liberal Daily

THE potential military energy in the enormous mass of Indian humanity is probably less than during the first World War, when 1,500,000 Indians were under arms. Even those Indian princes who are most faithful to Great Britain have expressed the hope that they will not be called upon for so many troops this time.

Recent English reports of India's contributions to the war effort of the British Empire are that the Indian Army, normally 210,000 men, has been increased to half a million and that an additional 100,000 will shortly finish their training. Of this total, 60,000 are being used outside India. By European standards of military training, such a country, with a total population of 385,000,000, should be able to supply 38,500,000 soldiers, if the appropriate preparations had been made during peacetime. But besides other factors, no such preparations were made there or in any other part of the British Empire. In view of the attitude of the nationalistic Hindus toward British rule, an attempt to militarize this enormous population probably would have been a great mistake. It would have given the Hindus a military organization which they might have turned against Great Britain. It may be surmised that the alleged 600,000 recruits have not been taken from all over the country in proportion but mostly from districts in which the Indian Congress party has no considerable following.

Very shortly after the end of the World War there were revolts, particularly in 1921 and 1922 after Gandhi's rise to power, which caused the British Government many worries. And in all the years since, English policy has not succeeded in influencing the attitude of the masses who, though they know nothing of politics, follow their leaders with religious fervor. The only

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support for British rule comes from the princes and from the antagonism of the Mohammedans toward the Hindus. The Mohammedans are indeed, as the Hindu nationalists claim, a minority quantitatively but by no means culturally. The aspiration of the Hindus for the country's complete independence causes them justifiable apprehension lest they be subjected to the unbearable rule of an "inferior people." So they and the politically farsighted princes form the counterbalance for the Nationalist mass movement—a counterbalance, however, which needs British power to give it weight.

At the beginning of the War, the British Government promised the Hindus Dominion status for India, since the constitution granted after the previous war has not brought about the desired pacification. But today the radical Nationalists want more. They demand a free and independent state entirely outside the British Commonwealth. At the beginning of the war, Gandhi agreed to a truce on these demands, in order not to weaken Britain's war effort, but his attitude of compromise seems to have changed in the past few months. The middle of last November, Gandhi warned the Viceroy of the beginning of a more intensive campaign of passive resistance in which would participate the President, the members of the Working Committee and of the Indian Congress Committee, as well as the members of the legislature and provincial and federal officials belonging to the Congress party. These 1,100 more or less prominent political personalities use insidious methods. They preach publicly against the War in order to get themselves arrested, and their arrest contributes to the excitement of the masses. At the same time, they refuse any responsibility within the Government. During the Summer, the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, proposed that the Congress party members participate in his Executive Council, to express their objections and desires through legal channels. But this offer was refused at the time and again more recently. Negotiations have reached a dead end. Several prominent Indians have been arrested, and now the question arises whether Gandhi too will cause himself to be arrested or will avoid speaking openly against the War. The British Government declares that it is still keeping its offer open but that it will postpone the question of the creation of a new constitution by a group representative of all classes of the country, until the end of the War. It would have to be postponed, in any case, until more general support for it could be found in Indian circles.

THE British Government has committed many psychological errors in India in the course of the last few years. The English themselves admit this. But it has been British power alone which has saved India from the bloody chaos of a civil and religious war. The only prospect for the realization of the Nationalists' dream is of its negative part—the elimination of British rule. The positive ideal of a free and independent India respected by its neighbors is considered a utopia by all who know the country. Numerous

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centrifugal forces in the country are by no means inclined to submit to the Nationalist ideologies. There are adherents of the caste system and opponents of it. Princes with vast domains have no intention of being ordered about by the men who are now at the head of the Congress party. There are the classless pariahs who would rather leave India en masse than come again under the rule of the privileged castes. Mohammedans do not wish to be treated as a numerical minority. In the Congress party itself there are Gandhi adherents and opponents, as well as Nationalists of all shades and many languages. These and a dozen other currents would immediately become explosively active the minute any one group tried to impose itself on the whole of India, not to speak of the dangers threatening from abroad.

The same situation has obtained for many years, but it was characteristic of the British to let it go until real danger made energetic measures necessary.

Historians and the Invasion

The students and professors of history are seldom hard to press into service in time of war. There has never been anything like the wholesale conscription of history into the service of the State in this country as has happened so often in Germany, where, long before the Nazis, the test of historicity had tended to be Germanism rather than fact. But some of the ancillary work done by British historians, in pamphlets and books, during the last war, seemed very odd history to readers during the less partial years of peace that followed. So far as can be seen through the spectacles of wartime, the similar publications of this war have up to now treated scholastic integrity much less contemptuously. At any rate there can presumably be no doubt that the authors of the work that the Historical Association now proposes to do on the failures of former enemies to invade these islands will show themselves scholars and gentlemen no less than patriots. . . . Although it is hardly likely that anything at all new or unknown will emerge from these researches, . . . the landing and march on London of the bastard Duke of Normandy might furnish some interesting, if wholly inapposite, comparisons for contemplating Hitler and his present illegitimate designs.

—*The Economist*, London

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Two writers, in New York and in Buenos Aires, believe it is 'cracking'

Fascism Now Seen on Decline

Its Status in Italy

By Alberto Tarchiani

Il Mondo, Italian Liberal Monthly New York

(In past months The Living Age *has reprinted a number of articles from the Italian press reflecting, often in preposterous language, the official Fascist view. The following article, which appeared originally in* Il Mondo, *anti-Fascist publication in New York City, gives the opposed view. Readers may recall that early in February a "Free Italy" organization was established in London, analogous to the "Free France" movement, and that a parallel group, the Mazzini Society, has been formed in the United States, where in New York a mass meeting was held recently, at which Mussolini was denounced.)*

IN MAY the German Army destroyed the Franco-Belgian defenses and made it impossible for the French to improvise a second defense line. But Mussolini still was not entirely certain—after ten months of German war and seventeen years of preparation for it—that Fascist Italy could then jump in without risk and with the certainty of victory at no cost. In June, he finally became convinced that the hour had come: France was crumbling at its very foundations and the downfall of England could not but follow immediately. Totalitarian war was victorious. Nothing remained but to cash in on it to the accompaniment of drums and trumpets. Mussolini and his followers must, of course, be part of what was to be a triumphal march.

But England—the "decrepit, replete, pot-bellied mercantile democracy"—proved to have the driving force to put to shame those ardent Fascists with their monopoly of heroism. It decided to resist, to fight alone as long as it had any force left, at whatever price of suffering and destruction.

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Mussolini and Hitler committed the error of dividing the pelt of the British lion in advance. (Il Duce would have had to be satisfied with only the tuft of the tail for his share.) The Führer negotiated an armistice with France on relatively favorable terms but demanded and secured its help against "perfidious Albion" which was to be annihilated immediately. Mussolini, who could not achieve any military successes in the Alps or along the Riviera even after the collapse of the French armies, was compelled by his ally to leave French territory intact, to leave even Corsica alone, as well as the Mediterranean possessions, protectorates and mandates. France kept—although under German control—two-fifths of its national territory, its navy, the colonial empire and gold and bank accounts in the United States and elsewhere. This compromise armistice, improvised in the midst of the blind fury of the assault on England, will turn out to be for Germany the Marne of 1940. The consequences of these half-measures taken or neglected in the moment of anxiety and vainglory, bear heavily on subsequent events. England resisted; it could not be invaded haphazardly. The inevitable disagreements between Vichy and Berlin increase, especially since the proofs of the military incompetence of the Fascists. Vichy refuses to give up aerial and naval bases or the Navy and maintains, under Weygand, a powerful armed force in North Africa and Syria. Germany threatens to occupy the whole of France, but this would require the mobilization of several dozen divisions and would drive the French Navy and North African Army to cooperation with the British. Hitler saved France in a few of its vital parts, though only in order not to give Mussolini the satisfaction of unearned compensations. Those parts, centering about the Mediterranean, already exercise a more and more threatening and embarrassing influence on the designs of the Axis.

England, energetically supported by its own Empire and by the United States, puts fascism to shame in Greece, in Egypt and in Libya. Russia is an ever-present incubus, a sword —even if a wooden one—suspended over Italy's head. The United States, far off but nevertheless ominously present, and paralyzing Japan in the Pacific, represents a decisive force which is growing to ever more gigantic proportions.

IN THIS picture, so different from the rosy vision of last June, there are persistent signs of the beginnings of a Fascist crisis, which will surprise only those who have been unwilling to believe that Mussolinism is synonymous with ignorance, incompetence, corruption and treason against Italy.

There have been a series of disasters in Greece, Albania, Egypt and Libya caused by the ineptitude of political, military and technical leaders from Il Duce down and by the unwillingness of the troops to fight for Germany or for a régime in Italy which oppresses and devastates the country. This has led to reports abroad, especially in London and Washington, that there has been a change in the Fascist situation; that the system responsible

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for so many errors and so much that has been detrimental to the national interest is threatening to break down; that it is beginning to dawn on the Italian consciousness that a German victory would be of no benefit to Italy, while there are great dangers in a possible defeat; that the only way out is the immediate elimination of the guilty, even at the cost of a partial or temporary German occupation.

Besides the psychological and material inefficiency of the Fascist régime, there are innumerable cases of ignominious graft and corruption. The ships which were so splendid when parading in the Gulf of Naples could not withstand the British artillery. The deficiencies of their armor revealed the ineptitudes of the Ciano-Cavallero-Ansaldo gang. The military lacks armored cars, cannon, weapons of all kinds, uniforms, shoes, provisions and medicines. There were not enough airplanes to face the adversary; Italian pursuit planes are fifty miles an hour slower than the British bombers. Yet 170,000,000,000, lire have been swallowed into the insatiable Fascist maw. The latest national deficit at the end of the fiscal year 1939-40 was of 28,000,000,000. The country is overtaxed, cheated and betrayed, while the Fascist heads suggest abroad that the cause of the disasters is the "traditional cowardice" of the Italian masses rather than their own régime of fraud, demoralization and dishonor.

Churchill has tried to profit from this situation to widen the rift between the people and the Fascist state.

It would be easy to demonstrate how the Chamberlains, both Austen and Neville, the Baldwins and the Macdonalds are responsible—together with the King of Italy, the Pope, the Morgans, Laval and a generalized imbecility—for the national and international successes of fascism. Churchill knows this and well knows his own share of guilt in it. But the British Prime Minister does not yet know that when the people rise against the system which has brought Italy to ruin, it will be extremely difficult to divide the responsibility between Mussolini and his major accomplices. England may not wish to stir the Mediterranean into a focus of permanent revolution. One can imagine that English and American conservatives would prefer a monarchic-papal entente to a social-republican régime. In their eyes, the Italian people, having suffered eighteen years of Fascist martyrdom, are immature and need the moderating tutorship of the scepter and the cross.

The inspiration of Churchill's friendly sermons to the confused, humiliated Italians is easy to understand. Among other things, he wants to obtain the maximum results with a minimum of effort, appealing to the opportunism of the Italian royal dynasty, the Vatican, the generals and big business, all of whom seek a way out of their impasse.

Churchill's broadcast to the Italian people seemed at first less serious than it was, because it excluded the idea of a compromise with Mussolini, an arrangement which might have been acceptable to various chancelleries. But a second reading made it clearer that the elimination of the "great man" (who has the superb mer-

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it of having ruined his country without even giving it military glory in return) solves only superficially the problem of fascism, leaving the profound causes of the recent tyrannies in Italy intact or even strengthened.

CHURCHILL'S effort is obviously only a war of subterfuge, not to be considered as a basic proposal for a durable internal or international peace. The liberation and rebirth of Italy cannot be the half-rotten fruit of a partnership between the King and servile and interested plotters. Possibly the force of events will prevent a clear and completely equitable solution, but our aims and demands must be explicit.

The Fascist forces have suffered defeats and disasters on land and sea and in the air which have deeply affected the national consciousness and spread general indignation. By the puerile method of calling disastrous defeats winged victories, Mussolini tries to make the Italians believe that every blow his armies receive, every piece of territory lost, every division transported to enemy concentration camps is a new title to glory. Gayda and Ansaldo, the apes of the charlatans, beat their breasts and proudly bare their weaknesses to the whole world. Those who have for years villified the "repulsive and rotten-to-the-core British plutocracy," which they have promised to drive out of "Mare Nostrum," now whine that Fascist reverses are due to the discrepancy between poor little Italy and "the greatest empire of the world." And, at the same time, these monkeys, with their Mussoliniesque masks, spin around in hyperbolic contradictions, compelled to admit their defeats by the Greeks but uttering grotesque threats against the United States—at a safe distance.

A régime represented by such superlative manifestations of baseness and stupidity at a time of grave and tragic events, cannot endure. The Duce, to show his energy and enterprise and to shift responsibility, fired Badoglio, Cavagnari, Prasca, De Vecchi, Soddu and many others of his retainers. He published Graziani's report, which proved his own lack of organizational capacity. It may be assumed that this was done only because Graziani, having executed Mussolini's order to the letter, threatened to make compromising disclosures—or even to follow the example of de Gaulle—if the truth were not revealed so far as it concerned him.

Today, the only hope of the Fascists is some master stroke from Berlin.

Mussolini, having failed in his announced ten-day blitzkrieg against Greece, having been badly battered by a small force of Greeks and recruits from Australia, is compelled to draft boys of eighteen and nineteen years of age. Italian mothers will ask whether sending their flesh and blood to the slaughterhouse will be enough to overcome the lack of machines and weapons and intelligence, character and knowledge on the part of the megalomaniac and incapable chief and his sinister retainers.

In 1918, Italian mothers saw young soldiers on the Piave and repressed their fears because the boys defended their country against a ruthless invad-

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er. Now they cannot feel the same. They know that the only success to which their young sons can contribute is that of Germany's rule over Europe and half the world. The boys of Italy, if they cannot revolt, can employ that passive resistance which is the most effective weapon against tyranny. The German Empire of William the Second died of this in 1918. The Fascist Empire of Mussolini may have a similar fate in 1941. Now that they are in the abyss of misery, the people will abandon Il Duce; their break will be much more definite than the compromise proposed by Churchill.

The fall of Mussolini's criminal gang may not be immediate, because, as a last resort, it will appeal to German weapons. The end is not yet in sight, but the signs of alarm and terror multiply. Rome remained silent for two days after the fall of Bardia. Then a council of ministers, half paralyzed by fear, was called and with solemn gestures a declaration was sent out that Fascist Italy would remain faithful to the Axis and would continue the war. Who except Germany could have asked for a public declaration of fidelity and an artificial stirring up of courage?

Mussolini, more and more stunned, was unable to conceal from the public his emotion and excessive excitement. The muddy, rhetorical and narrow spirit of this caricature of Caesar and Napolean cannot bear the cruel blows of misfortune. Fascism has aggravated its own crisis—long overdue—giving unconcealable proof of the ineptitude and weakness of even its much touted military efficiency. The only military glory which Mussolini has added to the three thousand years of Italian history is the "goose-step," an achievement worthy of his genius.

Under the pressure of these events, which they can no longer control, the Duce and fascism are breaking down together, and dishonoring themselves even in the eyes of their own followers. Germany will try to save them, but that is not to say that she will succeed. The collapse of fascism is bound to come. Anti-Fascists abroad, who have sacrificed everything to prove that the true Italy is different from the spurious one of Mussolini, must be ready, spiritually and physically, to intervene in the Fascist crisis—to accelerate, revive and consolidate the rebirth of our people. The new Italy toward which we have worked in exile must not be the monstrous fruit of ambiguous deals but a free, peaceful nation, capable of making a generous contribution to the reconstruction of the world.

—And in Spain

By A. Garcia Hinojosa

Claridad, Buenos Aires Liberal Literary Monthly

NOT all newspaper readers or listeners to radio commentators perceive the obvious deceptions employed by Spanish fascism in its efforts to cover up its elemental hollowness. Only those recognize the subtle deceptions who are continuously on guard or who have observed its begin-

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nings and its evolution. Both friends and enemies contribute by their writings and speeches to this deception. The expressions which define Spanish fascism, multiplied a million times by the printing press, travel around the world and disseminate vague generalities which amount to lies. Spanish fascism has appropriated a portion of the verbiage of the enemy and uses it in its propagandist offensive.

Spanish fascism is much smaller than its vocabulary. Its actual institutions are less real than the blanks we use for telegrams. Whoever reads or hears the word "Falange" or Phalanx visualizes a picture—whether sympathetic or detestable—of marching young men, of stirring doctrines, of an active, organized mass with an aim, a system and a sum of clearly defined characteristics. The Falange is conveniently identified with present-day Spain and to it is attributed the maximum responsibility for the good—and the ill—in that country. And the most active propaganda is designed around its suppressed manifestations and the attitudinizing of its so-called leaders.

We must say the Falange profits by the passive complicity of language. For the Falange does not exist. It is another myth in the series of myths which integrate Spanish totalitarianism, perhaps the most pretentious of all. Franco and his councilors created it when they began to erect the artificial structure which he controls. The explosion of a few hand-grenades in Salamanca suddenly released the idea of unification, and the "Spanish Traditionalist Falange" and the "Juntas of National Syndicalist Offensive" (known as "JONS") popped out of the box like a jumping-jack. The old Monarchical, Popular and Traditional parties, which had been merged during the dictatorial régime of Primo de Rivera, saw in these attempts at unification nothing more than a simple police measure. They granted it only a temporary importance. The different groups, however, continued to consider themselves absolutely incompatible. The implacable repression and the first stages of the Civil War brought the various antagonistic viewpoints and conceptions to the front. The opposed groups hated each other and punctuated their quarrels with revolver shots. Their mutual contempt was as great as the heat of the battle.

This passionate party antagonism did not last long. The war dragged on. The expected victory caused much bloodshed and bitterness. And there were still in the background the obstinate camarillas motivated only by jealousy, pride and ambition. A "silent violence" agitated the political life of the Fascist circles. The different factions of the Falange, which would never sit down at the same table, have decreed a policy of mutual vacuum and intransigence. Their life consists of a mania for persecution, recriminations and gossip.

Officially, there were repeated attempts at conciliation. The daily newspapers received orders to try to impose harmony between the various monarchical groups, the conservatives, the "CEDA" (Confederation of Autonomous Rightist Parties), between the verbiage of the Falangists and the traditionalist activities of those sup-

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porting the monarchy. In time, they gave it up as useless. The Falange, the Carlist traditionalists, the Alfonso monarchists and the conservative-clerical confederation, having lost all influence by the mass desertion of their members, were relegated to the importance of little tea parties. The obstinacy of the different parties, which at first were ready to take up arms to defend their different points of view, was finally reduced to defeatist grudges. They all lost faith in their political aims and hurried to jump on the official bandwagon.

Franco achieved a miracle equivalent to unification: the passivity created by the suffering of the war, the tremendous disappointment and the absolute discredit of men and systems created the soil which favored his personal policy, conveniently supported by what forms the very backbone of the régime—the enhancement of his own person. He did not have to look for other symbols (colored shirts or insignia) because the Falangist uniforms placed him in the ranks of the Rome-Berlin Axis. He identified himself with it, and, lightly disregarding all differences in principle, gave his "party" the all-inclusive denomination of "Traditionalist Spanish Falange" and JONS, which was supposed to represent a unification of the Fascists and Carlist traditional (absolutist) monarchists. This group was supported by the censorship against the original and intransigent Falange of the blue shirts; later, the long title was shortened and the label Falange was generally adopted.

The Falange is the party, the movement, the myth. It is a word which has been exploited to discipline into one unit a multitude of movements. Within this Falange, there is nothing but the monologues of Serrano Suñer and a handful of faithful retainers who remain because of personal profit. Unconditional obedience has now replaced awkward political etiquette. Merit has also been relegated to the plane of despised inferiority. It is hardly necessary to point out that the least sign of opposition to this unconditional obedience is punished by immediate expulsion.

THE personal power which Franco assumed, which is devoid of prestige, respect or consistency is in no way mitigated by the political farce that the Falange represents. Within this state administration, presided over by a tasseled, puppet Caudillo, the Falange has neither direct nor indirect influence—not only due to the spiteful despotism of Serrano Suñer, the Foreign Minister, but also due to its own lack of stamina.

Organically, the Falange appeared as a conglomeration of petrified offices and single-plate charity kitchens. The issuance of "certificates of adherence" to the régime and of statistics of "social welfare" are its only activities. In their comfortable offices, the typists sit around idly, and the bureaucrats drowse at their desks. There is not the slightest spirit of unity. There is no solidarity of effort, no discipline. All elements which characterize even the most insignificant political party are absent in this tedious and empty Falange: the maximum it can ever attain

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—by threats—is to gather a few hundred indifferent individuals who listen with resignation to speeches and masses. There is no enthusiasm, no confidence, no exhilarating debates or disputes. A disorganized and contradictory autonomy granted to local and provincial centers results in benefits and advantages to local bossism (*caciquismo*) protected by the mantle of political jobs, controlled by criminals and grafters. The newspapers and "party" parades disguise this lack of organization by shouts and the erection of triumphal arches. The frivolity of the leaders is reflected in the lack of interest of the few dozen members who do pay dues and put on their blue shirts whenever they receive the order.

Politically, the Falange is the reflection of organized idiocy. Enfeebled by immorality, broken by ridicule, torn by the comic ambitions of its representative types, it plays the sad role of a still-life picture in the antechamber of the régime. It trembles at any order of Serrano Suñer, tries to look formidable and terrible to compensate for the fact that it is neither popular nor respected. The bald reality is that the Falangists are nothing but amateur policemen who, unable to have fun in night-clubs, find pleasure in hitting passersby on the shins with their rifle butts.

Franco and his assistants console the faithful with platonic phrases, as it is necessary to find a platform to put his own personality in relief. But in the party communiqués, of rarely more than ten words, the Spanish reader can never find any disclosure of real interest to him. Party meetings last about five minutes, just long enough to listen to Franco's rhetoric and to applaud the "brave leader" of the Spanish State.

ONE year of "victorious peace" has accentuated the political disappointment, skepticism and the grumbling. But Franco now can easily maintain himself against any conspirators, whom he can destroy in a jiffy—by destitution or exile. The Falange politically is nothing but an empty word.

One German View

By S. N.

THERE could be nothing more erroneous than the belief assiduously fostered by Nazis in the United States, that every German-American is a National Socialist or a potential fifth columnist. It is true, of course, that this country is in danger from possible future activities of Nazi spies, particularly in the way of industrial sabotage. It is true also that there are secret Nazi organizations within the United States whose members are prepared to obey instantly any orders from Berlin.

In past months, however, there have been a good many signs that indicate that German-speaking workers in the United States, some of them still citizens of the Reich, are vehement in their denouncement of the Nazis, and pre-

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dict that in time the movement will collapse of its own crimes. That is also true of a sizable faction of older workers within Germany itself, if one is to believe the circumstantial accounts of recent German émigrés, not all of whom, by any means, are "non-Aryans."

If "sample polls" have any validity at all, the number of Germans here, and German-Americans, who sympathize openly with the Hitler régime is comparatively small and, in any event, few of them are in a position to effect any damage, material or psychological. For the most part, self-avowed Nazis in this country are mostly restricted to the lower middle class—they are usually shop- and saloon-keepers, unskilled white-collar employes and the like, a not overly bright fraternity. German-trained workers in this country—and they are of considerable importance in the American defense picture—by and large are either openly hostile to the Nazis, or altogether indifferent. Those that are hostile, and articulate in their hostility, are prone to believe that Hitler must lose and that, in time, the Reich will return to a democratic régime—without, however, the abuses and restrictions that were imposed on Germany at Versailles.

Indicative of the opposition in this country among Germans and German-Americans to the present régime in the Reich are several excellently edited anti-Nazi German-language newspapers. Among them is the *Neue Volkszeitung*, a right-wing social-democratic weekly, the successor to the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, which for more than half a century was published in New York as a socialist daily and was consistent in its opposition to German imperialism. Its successor, the *Neue Volkszeitung*, which has a substantial circulation all over the United States (as well as in German anti-Nazi communities in Latin America), opposes dictatorships of all strips and upholds the principles that underlay the constitution of the Weimar Republic. Its present editor, Gerhart H. Seger, was an anti-Nazi member of the Reichstag, and like most of his staff he belongs to Herr Hitler's chosen people, the "Aryans." Herr Seger, a particularly gifted editor, addresses an audience composed in the main of German-speaking workers, and his constant emphasis in editorials and articles is on the urgency of labor unity in the defense of America. To this theme he adds the warning that a Nazi defeat of the Allies will inevitably mean an enormous setback in trade-union progress and in improving the conditions of the workers.

"A victory by the Nazis," he wrote in a recent issue of the *Neue Volkszeitung*, "would in fact be infinitely worse than re-establishment of the old capitalist order"—which is something of tall concession coming from an orthodox Socialist.

The anti-Nazi press in the United States undoubtedly receives on occasion authentic information from Germany by means not available to the regular American correspondents, the press-association representatives in Berlin and in the capitals of the occupied countries. Some of these reports cite chapter and verse, names and

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places, to an extent that suggests forcefully that they are not made of whole cloth. The burden of a good deal of this "underground" information is that living standards in Germany are rapidly falling—despite the boastful assertions in the controlled press that the Reich today enjoys the highest standards anywhere in the world—and that there is widespread physical exhaustion among workers, due to undernourishment and excessive numbers of hours at machines. Such disclosures, it should be admitted, are frequently qualified by the statement that there is no sabotage in Germany, but that the output of workers is decreasing in direct ratio to their enthusiasm for Hitler.

The organization, Friends of Germany, which publishes an interesting bulletin, *Inside Germany*, allegedly based on reports received from the Reich via "underground" channels, in a recent issue quoted part of a smuggled letter, written by an elderly German worker to his daughter in this country, in which he said:

"We old people keep on through the difficulties and the weariness. We know that youth will see other and better times, times such as we always wanted to see, and then soon this nightmare will be forgotten."

ASIDE from *Neue Volkszeitung*, in New York, other anti-Nazi weeklies in this country, whose editors do not believe National Socialism will long endure in Germany, include the Florida *Deutsches Echo*, published at Miami, the *Gross Daytoner Zeitung* of Dayton, Ohio, and the Schenectedy *Herold*.

Fewer Chinese Students Abroad

A sharp decline in the number of Chinese students going to foreign countries for advanced study since the outbreak of hostilities was reported by the World's Chinese Students Federation in Shanghai.

Though by no means complete, the Federation has on its record only 487 scholars who have gone abroad from July 1937 to October 1940. Of these, 247 went to the United States.

From July 1937 to June 1938, 347 students sailed for foreign countries. The majority, 307, went on their own, while 40 were sent on government scholarships. During the second half of 1938, only 64 students went abroad. In 1939, the number further dwindled to 47. In 1940, only 29 have been able to leave.

War at home and in Europe constitutes the principal deterrent. The adoption of a stricter policy by the Chinese Government regarding the dispatch of students to foreign countries is also partly responsible.

—*China at War*, Hong Kong

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Brittany is the first of several buffer units that Hitler proposes

Nazi Plans for Vassal States

Argentinisches Tageblatt, Buenos Aires Liberal German-Language Daily

THE ultimate aim of the Third Reich is the establishment of "the new Europe." A preliminary requisite was the unification of all "Germans" within the Greater German Reich. That has been achieved, and the curtain is now raised on Act II. The theme springs from Hitler's testament, *Mein Kampf*, in which Germans are exhorted to destroy any military powers on their frontier and not to permit any revival of the might of those powers. The destruction of French military strength has already been accomplished; next must come the levelling of Britain, militarily, and thereafter Russia, Italy and Spain must be destroyed. It is idle to speculate over this third act, until the second is finished.

But since the destruction of the French military machine has already been achieved, the question inevitably arises, will Nazi Germany be able to keep permanently subdued all those nations she now occupies? Would not the very internal dynamics of fascism impel these future Fascist states, such as a Fascist France or—the Nazis' dream—a Fascist England, one day to revolt against Germany?

France is the first former great power to whom the Third Reich has been able to apply its program of nazification, and the "independence" of Brittany, proclaimed last July, is an example of how the Germans hope to make their conquests permanent by division—by reviving half-forgotten aspirations for "autonomy" stemming from sectional quarrels of the Middle Ages. [*The New York Times* reported that the eighteen points of the Nazi-sponsored program for Breton independence include: "The Breton people constitute an ethnographical, spiritual, political and social unity; the establishment of a Breton state and the resuscitation of Brittany demand the guidance of a responsible leader; the

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official languages will be Breton as the national idiom and a French university will be instituted; the press and radio must parallel the interests of the reborn state; Breton soil and buildings can only be owned by Bretons."]

The demarcation line between occupied and unoccupied France was not drawn for military reasons of providing a safe base for attack on England. Hitler took possession of those districts which would be fertile ground for political intrigue. The provinces of Al-

—*Time and Tide*, London

sace and Lorraine were immediately incorporated in the Reich, and if the new frontiers are ever established according to Hitler's desires, there is no question but that Brieu and Longwy would also become part of Germany. But even that might not be enough to prevent an integrated post-war France, so Hitler attempts to destroy or detach other portions before the conclusion of a final peace. He offers "the strong arm of the victor" to those "suppressed minorities" which demand "racial justice." To the protagonists of these autonomist-separatist movements he promises jobs, emoluments and power. Hitler alone, be it understood, is the savior of the oppressed. In this otherwise attractive propaganda, it is overlooked, of course, that this newly acquired "freedom" will include the eradication of all personal and national liberty and that the destiny of the newborn states is to be colonies of the Greater German Reich.

According to information from Belgium—confirmed by articles in the Axis press—Germany intends to create a state including the following French, Belgian and Dutch provinces: Artois, part of Picardie, French Flanders, Belgian Flanders, Antwerp, Limburg, Dutch Northern Brabant. Flemish separatists, who even in the first World War co-operated with the German invaders, would play the leading role in this new state. Under the banner of cultural and racial affinity, a German vassal state inimical to France would be erected. It would incidentally occupy that territory through which Germany is vulnerable to maritime attack from the west. This separatist plan has not achieved final form in Flanders as it has in Brittany.

THE Breton separatist movement has come into existence only since the rise of nazism. During last summer, the ancient city of Rennes saw the return of a couple of men who several years ago had the prudence to flee abroad, François de Bauvais and Olivier de Quimper. Bauvais is editor of *Breiz Atao* (*Brittany Arise*) which was prohibited before the War but now appears again. It is published in the Breton dialect. Bauvais evaded prosecution by the French police by finding asylum in Holland. De Quimper es-

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caped to his proper protector—the German Reich.

This Breton movement is parallel to that of the Irish Sinn Fein. Fostered by German bayonets, it can maintain itself only by bloody terrorism. Its soul was the "Red Virgin," a certain Miss Rozegg, ardent admirer of the Sinn Feiners. Her "political plan" was the amalgamation into one state of Brittany, Ireland, Scotland and Cornwall—no more than a subject of uproarious laughter until 1932 when the first attempts to realize it were made. Bauvais joined the ranks of the Red Virgin and formed the "*Gwen ha du*," ("Black and White") modelled on the Irish Republican Army. In November of that year the then Premier, Herriot, was to unveil a monument commemorating the incorporation of Brittany into France, resulting from the marriage of Anne of Brittany to the King of France in the sixteenth century. The police found a bomb in the train by which Herriot was travelling and in searching for the conspirators unearthed the Black-and-White movement. Shortly after the unveiling, another bomb did explode, destroying the monument. The Red Virgin, recognizing that things were becoming too dangerous for her, disappeared and de Quimper took her place. Unknown sources financed the separatist paper in Rennes and the land was flooded with pamphlets from its presses. That was 1935, Year III of the Thousand-Year German Empire.

After the occupation of Rennes by the Nazi troops, the Bretonists returned as conquerors. Although the German announcement of the new Breton State did not mention Bauvais as governor, it is likely that this faithful follower of Hitler has obtained the post.

As early as March 1940, Bauvais proclaimed from Holland that the Bretons represented an oppressed minority of three millions. These "oppressed peoples" live in the French departments of Finistère, Côtes du Nord, Ille et Vilaine, Morbihan and Loire Inferieure and represent, according to Bauvais, only a fraction compared with other minorities "pining for liberation," such as the Alsatians, the Corsicans and the Basques—altogether, 22,000,000 people who are "compelled to suffer oppression by 18,000,000 others who call themselves Frenchmen but are nothing but a mixture of Negro and Jewish blood." Bauvais has adopted even Hitler's jargon.

Divide et impera, that is Hitler's plan for the "New Europe"; that is, for all states except Germany, of course. It may have a certain future, for it is being supported by short-sighted politicians like Pétain.

How About Hitler?

Jews, Free Masons and the British Intelligence are the main causes of the difficulties all over the world. Thanks to Germany's clear warnings, the knowledge of this fact is slowly being spread throughout the universe.

—*Der Angriff*, Berlin

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The Role of the Dog in War

By MAJOR EINAR EDSTROM

Svenska Dagbladet, Stockholm Conservative Daily

IN ALL countries there are tales about the help which dogs have given men in various circumstances. Even in this mechanical day, the dog is as valuable a servant as ever. In fact, during wartime they are even more useful than in peace.

The commander of an army must keep in constant communication with the various subdivisions which are fighting all over the terrain. Here the "report dogs" fill a place, for often there are no other possible means of communication. So long as the radio or field telephone will serve, these dogs are kept in reserve, for they are difficult to replace. But where emergency communications must be established in the shortest possible time, a report dog can perform the task more quickly and under more difficulties than any human soldier. The dog carries his map and his compass in his head. Even more important, he can conceal himself from the enemy better than any man.

Another branch in which dogs are of great use is in standing guard, where their highly developed senses of hearing and smell are of great advantage. So far as acuteness of smell is concerned, dogs are in a class by themselves, and while all breeds have a sharp sense of hearing, shepherd dogs in particular are almost unbelievably gifted in this respect. Dogs can not only hear from further distances than humans, but their ears are attuned to sound vibrations which a man could not hear at all. A dog's nose *may* give him a wrong clue; his ear will never deceive him. No soldier on guard who is accompanied by a well-trained and reliable dog can be taken by surprise, but this relationship demands a "contact," a close co-operation between the two.

This sympathy must be even closer between a patrol leader and his dog or dogs. Here the dog must really support his master in his duties, particularly by indicating to a patrol moving forward cautiously across unknown terrain whether or not the coast is clear. The dog must be able literally to "smell danger."

The medical service of every modern army includes "medical dogs," and their services cannot be praised too highly. They have saved the lives of tens of thousands of wounded soldiers. Ways of training them differ, but most armies use the German—or, more correctly, Austrian—methods. The principal duty of these dogs is to search for wounded soldiers, report back to their masters and lead the stretcher bearers to the spot where the injured man is lying.

A modern battle field, unlike those

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of former times, is under fire day and night. If the wounded who are lying helplessly in ditches, under shrubs or in shell holes, are to be saved, it must be done immediately. At any time the task of stretcher bearer is difficult. Even during the day, if the terrain is hilly and densely covered with shrubs and trees, it is easy to overlook a soldier who has lost consciousness, still alive but unable to call attention to himself. A man may pass him by as dead, but not a dog; a dog knows whether there is still life in him even if he has almost stopped breathing. Over and over again dogs have proven their instinctive diagnostic ability. A dog will not even stop at a lifeless corpse but will rush on to the next man who can be saved.

In winter campaigns in northern countries, dogs can be used to great advantage as carriers in carefully studied co-operation with ski patrols. A dog's carrying capacity is in direct proportion to his weight, and he is relatively twice as strong as a horse. When roads end and the ski patrol must carry along its tents, provisions, ammunition, etc., through a wilderness, then the dog has his day. He becomes irreplaceable.

"Police dogs" in wartime perform much the same duties as in peace. They are used to guard internment and prison camps. They are also valuable protectors for soldiers on guard duty in towns or thickly populated districts. As for civilian police work, the training of these dogs for military service demands much care. One must remember that a police dog can be a most vicious animal; he has to be trained as a "one-man" dog for a master who can handle him. No well-trained police dog should be everybody's pet, and if he sometimes attacks innocent persons, it is not always his own fault.

IT TOOK years for the military authorities to see the value of dogs in warfare. Now they have been elevated to the place to which they are rightfully entitled.

In Sweden the Government, for practical and economic reasons, has its own kennels, though not many of them. For the rest, it works in close co-operation with voluntary organizations which raise and train dogs.

War and the Magazines

Magazine distributors and newsstands across Canada are hit by Finance Minister Ilsley's budget order putting certain periodicals on the prohibited list in order to save foreign exchange. There will be no interference with imports of illustrated news or opinion magazines that print articles or pictures favoring the British cause, or whose reading public in the United States is so large that Canada cannot risk incurring the magazine's enmity.

—*Victoria Times*, Victoria, B. C., Canada

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Persons and Personages

Metaxas' Successor

By Albert Miller

GENERAL John Metaxas, Greece's dictator-premier, who died suddenly on January 22, 1941, and his successor, Alexander Korizis, seem to have one thing, and one thing only, in common. The fathers of both were members of the Greek Parliament.

In everything else, the late Premier and Korizis are the opposite of each other. Metaxas made himself *de facto* ruler of Greece when the country was torn by internal strife. Korizis became the highest civil servant when the country was united as never before. Metaxas was a politician all his life, Korizis never has bothered about the intrigues of public life. Metaxas was a soldier and once was even called a military genius. Early in his military career, based on his German training, he was called the "little Moltke," after the Prussian army chief of 1870-71. Korizis' only connection with strategy was a term of service as a reserve officer during the Balkan War of 1912.

When Metaxas died, he had taken five portfolios for himself—the Ministries of Air, War, Navy, Foreign Affairs and Education. It may be that Korizis will give at least the first three to men more versed in the art of warfare than he is. But he may also keep them, for, so long as he has experts at his side, he is well able to take care of the executive end of his duties.

The marked differences in background and character between the two men also extend to physical appearance. Metaxas, with his round, middle-sized figure, his fatherly, benevolent smile, was a volcano of activity. His smile was deceptive, for behind it were designs which often ripened into terrific blows against his enemies, foreign and domestic.

Alexander Korizis is calmness itself. He impresses everyone as at once aristocratic and cultivated. He has a tall, spare figure. His gray hair, as well as his little gray mustache, add to his appearance of elegance. He dresses quietly, but smartly.

While Metaxas in every respect was the Balkan politician, his successor is the prototype of the modern European-business man. Indeed, his whole background is that of a successful merchant who has placed his organizing ability at the service of his country. It will not be difficult for him to follow the

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vicissitudes of the present-day political and economic life of the Continent. He is elastic, not committed to any political ideology, as was the case with his predecessor.

But it must be said of Metaxas that at the decisive moment he abandoned everything to one aim: defeat of the Italian invader. Despite his preference for totalitarian methods, Metaxas had recognized years ago that Italy was his country's worst enemy and that the so-called hereditary enemy, Turkey, must become Greece's friend. He established a policy which may prove of enormous aid to Korizis.

Evidently, Metaxas easily duped Mussolini. Shortly after the outbreak of the present war with Italy, reports were current that Mussolini, months before, had sought to offer the Metaxas Government certain large sums —that is to say, to permit the Italians to "invade" Greece.

Korizis never would have received any such offers from Mussolini. He is not a practical cynic. For the gestures which might impress a strutting dictator are alien to him. Besides, it is still remembered that in the first World War he was always on the side of the Allies. Metaxas, on the other hand, left Greece in 1917, together with the King, in order not to submit to the demands of the Allies. Korizis remained in Athens to continue the work to which he has devoted most of his life—the strengthening of the National Bank of Greece.

THE Premier, born in 1885 on the Island of Poros, at first studied law at the University of Athens. He entered the National Bank of Greece as a clerk in 1903 and advanced rapidly. In 1915 he became general controller. He established new branches and extended the general business of the bank. In 1921 he was appointed director of one of the bank's five divisions, which meant that he had been appointed head of a hundred branch offices. Seven years later he became vice president and in 1939, when the president died, he was awarded that post.

During his association with the bank, Korizis was also active in other fields. He visited various European countries where his command of French, English and German were of profit to him. The knowledge gained abroad he used at home to found cooperative enterprises for farmers and consumers. He organized the Agricultural Bank of Greece, with himself as its head. He also organized and guided government corporations for the export sale of grapes, currants, wine and other products of the vineyard, an important branch of Greece's national economy.

Korizis great organizing abilities led in 1933 to his appointment as Minister of Finance and as member of the Supreme Financial Council of Greece. After Metaxas seized power in 1936, he called Korizis into his cabinet as Minister for Hygiene and Public Assistance. In this capacity the present Premier was able to develop his abilities as the country's foremost social worker. He created Greece's first social security plan. In 1939, Korizis resigned his cabinet post to assume the presidency of the National Bank; and the other day he had to give up that

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position to assume the premiership.

This long career in the service of his country, one without any visible political interests, established Korizis' reputation as a social-minded man and a good organizer. He can say of himself—almost—that he has neither political nor personal enemies.

He is deficient, of course, in the military qualities of his predecessor, who astonished the world by throwing the Italians out of Greece and chasing most of the Duce's warriors to the Adriatic coast. But he has the solid support of the civilian population, and if he is less colorful than Metaxas nevertheless he probably enjoys a greater degree of public trust.

Apostle of 'Grossraum'

Die Weltwoche, Zurich Liberal Weekly

TO BE belittled by its opponents is one of the principal aids of a successful revolution. Behind the smoke screen of false rumors and petty scandal, the troops can march undisturbed. When they strike, it is a surprise.

This was the service the *boulevard* press of all countries rendered National Socialist Germany, unintentionally but consistently. Now that the error is beginning to dawn on them, the English say, "Fleet Street made Hitler." The press told its readers a thousand small, interesting details of the life of the new men of Germany—the color of their eyes, the size of their slippers, the preparation of their favorite meals. They were presented like film stars, a fashion of the day, to be forgotten tomorrow. But these men have remained longer than was to be believed. Under the reality of bombs, people have begun to think more seriously of the deeper causes of the new European revolution.

Who, for instance, knows the name of Carl Schmitt? Yet this theoretician of the Third Reich fills the same place in the present upheaval as Rousseau in the French Revolution. Certainly, no romantic biography can be written about him. He is outwardly like any other jurist who has passed through the long preparation for his profession. Six semesters at the university, an instructorship and later a professorship and he is today, at the age of fifty-two, a famous authority on international law. Not an interesting history, but one should read his books, his speeches and his magazine articles.

Before 1789, princes ruled, by the divine right of legitimate succession, over motley collections of peoples and territories. The French Revolution established the principle of sovereignty on a national basis, regardless of size or strength. This has since been the basis of international law up to the present day, reaffirmed by Wilson at the end of the first World War.

It is this fundamental concept which Schmitt criticizes, maintaining that it no longer corresponds to reality. The reality is the strength which gives the

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great "have" powers the right to rule the world. The right to independence of the small states can be defended only by those with an interest in the maintenance of the present status, to prevent the rise of any new power. It is, for instance, an artificiality—according to Schmitt—to put Cuba and the United States or Abyssinia and Italy on an equal basis.

Schmitt wants to replace the rights of nations with the rights of empires. Empires he defines as "the leading and active powers whose political ideas radiate into a certain *Grossraum* [large space] and which exclude from this *Grossraum* the influence of outside powers." By this conception, an empire is not defined by the claims of a dynasty or by the desires of the constituent nations but by the will of the strongest people within it who are able to control it. The geography of *Grossraum* will become the basis for the new international law, just as "royal right by the grace of God" was superseded by the "self-determination of peoples." As the first example of *Grossraum* recognized by international law, Schmitt cites the Monroe Doctrine which, since 1823, has prohibited the interference of other nations in the affairs of the Western Hemisphere. If victorious German armies make his theories the basis for the "new order," it will be the end of the self-determination of nations, with counterparts of the Monroe Doctrine in Asia and the combination of Europe and Africa. Washington, Berlin-Rome and Tokyo would be the centers of this newly planned world. But only for a certain time.

WHAT are the limits of *Grossraum?* That Schmitt does not say. Today the continents are considered its boundaries, but technical science and modern economics break across these geographical limits. A nation which considers itself strong will always desire to expand its empire. It will logically maintain that the power of radiation of its political ideas reaches beyond the seas and gives it the right to attract other countries into its orbit. Thus, on the horizon of the world of ideas of this German professor looms a battle of monstrous empires in a permanent struggle for space, following a period of national wars. Schmitt has not yet clearly outlined this consequence, but the Italian press has repeatedly published dissertations predicting a future of permanent total war between continents.

RUDOLF OLDEN

By KURT HILLER

The Nineteenth Century and After, London Independent Monthly

RUDOLF OLDEN, who was born in 1885, was a distinguished lawyer, and at the same time one of the finest and most knowledgeable publicists among left-wing Liberals in the German Republic. For several years he was assistant editor of the *Berliner Tageblatt* under Theodor

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Wolff. Olden left Berlin after the Reichstag fire. He spent some time in Prague, then went to Austria, Switzerland and France before he came to England. Here he was given hospitality in Oxford by Professor Gilbert Murray. From 1934-40, while in Oxford, Olden wrote several books. In Germany, during the Republic, he had published biographies of Stresemann and Hindenburg. In Oxford he wrote a critical study of Hitler. Apart from this, Olden also contributed regularly to the *Neues Tagebuch*, and the *Pariser Tageszeitung*.

OLDEN belonged to no political party; he was unable to accept any political dogma. He never adopted an emotional attitude towards political ideas; instead he was a slightly sceptical advocate of human decency wherever he found it, of personal liberty and of humanitarian principles. Socialistic ideas did not appeal to Olden. He felt instinctively that socialism would impair individualism, would interfere with the rights of the individual, and would encourage despotism. Events in Russia increased his suspicions of socialism. The violent negation of individual liberty and freedom of criticism seemed to him not only an outgrowth of Stalinism but of socialism in general.

Olden was an avowed enemy of ruthless force, of tyranny and of barbarism, but he could never make up his mind to become an active worker in any specific movement. Even as a political writer he was more contemplative than active; he preferred analysis to action. His strength was the sensitiveness, the wisdom and the culture expressed in his observations and in his analysis, in his illumination of facts, and his great knowledge.

Olden's books and articles did not appeal to fanatics. He was one of Germany's last real liberals, and that says a great deal. As recently as this Spring he published two very outspoken and forceful articles which testified to his courage. In a splendid, brief statement he attacked those appeasers who, though they repudiated Hitler, were yet willing to accept the "more moderate" Göring as a man eligible to negotiate a peace, and who dream of a conservative coalition consisting of German generals and managing directors, a coalition ostensibly directed against the Nazi extremists but actually directed against all freedom and progress in Europe. The second article written by Olden last Spring was a deeply moving introduction to the German edition of the book by the mother of our Hans Litten.

Rudolf Olden was a liberal, a lawyer and a Jew of the Evangelical Faith (his father's name had been Oppenheim), but during the German Republic he never belonged to that smart "democratic" clique of business men who traded in the law, to that set of lawyers who adjusted themselves to the men who happened to be in power, and who would dutifully have become conservative nationalists had they been racially acceptable as such. Rudolf Olden was never worldly or greedy for success, he was utterly without repulsive middle-class ambition; he had profound integrity, he was a free, independent, honest and

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intellectual man. He was not a rebel but at the same time he felt no venom towards rebels. He liked radical literature if it was well written. (In fact, he preferred the form of such books to the radicalism they contained.) He was never afraid of compromising his reputation by devoting himself to a good cause even though it was unpopular, and he was never afraid of defending unpopular people in the courts. In 1931 he was Carl von Ossitzky's counsel. (The well-known pacifist had been accused of betraying military secrets.) Olden also took part in the work of the League for the Rights of Man. Later he always helped *émigrés* when he could; he hated injustice, repression, libel and intrigue.

I was with Olden at Boar's Hill, near Oxford, at Christmas, 1938. One day we took a walk in the snow, and we passed a peaceful graveyard. He remarked sadly, with a suggestion of irony at his own mood: "Mrs. Olden and her daughter will one day come to this spot to visit Father's grave. . . . " He had not counted on the mad development of events. It is terrible to think back to that walk which seems to have occurred but a day or two ago. That father, who was over fifty, was deeply attached to his little daughter, born in exile. His wife was more than twenty-five years younger than he. Let us hope that his daughter is safe. His wife, as one of the ship's survivors reported [after the torpedoing of the *City of Benares*], refused to get into a life-boat without her husband. She was drowned with him.

Britain's Health

Some anxiety will be relieved by the report of the nation's health in 1940, given by Sir Wilson Jameson, Chief Medical Officer of the Ministry of Health. In the crowded, deep shelters there are at present only stray cases of infectious disease, and no report of an outbreak of typhoid, even in the worst-raided places, has yet been notified. With one exception, moreover, there has been little increase in the number of cases of the chief infectious diseases during last year. Cases of scarlet fever and diphtheria are actually down compared with 1938 and 1939; pneumonia and enteric fever—of the para-typhoid, not typhoid, type—are slightly up; and dysentery is up on 1939 but down on 1938. The one exception is cerebro-spinal fever, the notorious war disease, cases of which amounted to approximately 12,500 in 1940, compared with 1,500 in 1939 and 1,288 in 1938. But fortunately the tremendous advance in chemico-therapy recently has robbed cerebro-spinal fever of its old terrors.

—*The Economist*, London

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Being an expert tight-rope turn by an eminent British educator

Two Versions of Democracy

By JULIAN HUXLEY

The Listener, British Broadcasting Corporation

AMERICANS are apt to think that our democracy is rather a sham, because it is different in so many ways from theirs, and especially because of our monarchy and our class system. However, we must remember that democracy is not something fixed. Any particular democracy is an attempt to realize the democratic ideal. And that is, historically speaking, something very recent. It is first of all the belief that individual human beings are what matter most—more than the State, or the total of national wealth, or anything else whatsoever. Then it is the belief in equality, in the sense that everyone should have certain basic opportunities. The European political theorists of the eighteenth century thought in terms of "natural rights"; the American Declaration of Independence speaks of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Today we are more inclined to use phrases like "privileges and opportunities."

But what each age has meant is that everyone should have an equal chance to a reasonable development as individual human beings, irrespective of accidents of birth or fortune. The democratic ideal is also the belief that governments should exist not only to benefit but to represent the people as a whole. So democracy, since it thus presupposes government by consent, implies tolerance; since it presupposes equality, implies equal opportunities; and since it presupposes the ultimate value of individual men and women, implies freedom.

That is the democratic ideal. Actual democracies represent attempts at realizing this ideal. But to date they are still sadly imperfect; and also they have pursued different methods in different countries.

So democracies can differ in two quite different ways. They can be more or less imperfect. There are democracies in which considerable sections of

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the people are not allowed to vote. That was so in Britain a century ago; and it still is so in the Southern United States (for it does not matter whether people are disfranchised under the constitution or, in fact, just are not allowed to vote). Such democracies are obviously less perfect than those where there is real universal suffrage.

But besides differing on an up-and-down scale, they can also differ sideways, just like different kinds of animals. A dogfish is a higher kind of animal than a jellyfish. But no one can say whether it is higher or lower than a lobster. So with democracies. The American and British brands are both on about the same level of progress toward the ideal; but they are very different in their organization.

The chief difference lies in the British class system. In the United States, color and nationality take the place of class, to a certain degree. On the whole, Negroes and recent immigrants get fewer opportunities, in the same sort of way as the working classes in Britain get fewer opportunities. It is also true that, with the intense growth of industrialism in the United States, and with the closing of the frontier, a new class system, based mainly on money, but in part (in the East) on ancestry, is beginning to grow up. But the British class system is much more rigid, and it is also historically ingrained, being a gradual evolution from the feudal system centuries back. In fact, the development of British society and institutions has almost always been gradual. It was this organic quality which Edmund Burke defended so eloquently against the theorists who wanted to imitate the French Revolution by making a clean sweep and starting again from as near scratch as possible.

I am not trying to make out that the British class system is the best way, or even a good way, of organizing a democracy. All I am concerned with is to try to make it clear that it isn't incompatible with a reasonable amount of

—*Reynolds News*, London

democracy (and also with a reasonably rapid progress toward more and better democracy) and that it has still, and has had in the past, quite a lot of merits—orderliness and a sense that everyone has a job of work to do for the community: the idea among the more fortunate of service; a very considerable amount of freedom within the boundaries set by the system: suf-

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ficient fluidity to give talent a reasonable chance to rise, and to allow new classes, as they became important, to take their share of leadership and responsibility; plenty of opportunity for people to take part in their own local government; and still more opportunity for them to form voluntary associations to look after their own interests. This is a very important aspect of democracy; for, to quote again from Burke, "To be attached to the Subdivision, to love the little platoon, is the first principle (the germ as it were) of public affections."

About the monarchy I needn't say much. Everyone should, I hope, even in the republican United States, realize that being a king means something very different to George VI from what it did to George III. The British King is no longer an autocrat, and indeed has lost almost every vestige of political power. He is now in one sense only a symbol of the unity of the nation, and of the Empire. But symbols can be very important, and our twentieth century kings are very active, hardworking, and useful members of the community, focussing loyalties, giving the necessary personal touch to the vast impersonal machinery of a modern state, and infinitely more democratic than the Führers or the Duces, with their bodyguards and their pomp. The American President, too, is a democratic personal head; but Presidents are also members of political parties, and some of the smoke and powder of politics inevitably hangs around them.

There is naturally another side to the picture. The traditional side of monarchy can be overdone, and may make its ritual too much of a survival of the past, too little representative of today. Some people felt that about the Coronation ceremonies. It is difficult for the existence of a Court not to encourage a certain not very desirable snobbery. Certain traditional vested interests may manage to entrench themselves under the sheltering wing of monarchy.

Similarly with the British class system. It undoubtedly stimulates snobbery. Many among the privileged classes come to take their prvileged position for granted, and rather forget their obligations of service. In small communities like the village, the local bigwigs may easily become petty tyrants instead of leaders or public servants. The fear of losing privileges consciously or unconsciously may generate hostility or overbearingness toward the so-called lower classes, while, conversely, jealousy may make the under-privileged bitter and resentful. Most important of all, the class system does mean a considerable deprivation of equal opportunity; and this is a very real negation of the democratic ideal.

All the same, British democracy manages to work reasonably well, in spite of obvious and numerous defects. The best proof of that is that our system has, in the last hundred years, become more, and not less, democratic —in spite of all the undemocratic handicaps it has inherited from the past, and all the new anti-democratic burdens that the laissez-faire period managed to pile on its back.

Democracy means something real to the average Englishman today.

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First, Britain is politically democratic. There is real universal suffrage. We have never had any anti-democratic organization so powerful as the Ku Klux Klan during its brief but unenviable prominence, nor any political machines so ruthless and corrupt as those of certain American States, or as Tammany in its bad old days.

Our local government has on the whole been in the hands of local people, duly elected to represent the balance of local interests; the small political boss, with his inevitable atmosphere of graft, has never played so prominent a role here as in parts of the U.S.A. And our local government is largely in the hands of working people. The mayor of a small city, or a member of a Borough Council, is just as likely to be a working man as an aristocrat, or a rich merchant, or a business man.

Britain's legal system is reasonably democratic. The high cost of going to law is its only serious handicap. There has been very little corruption, among either judges or police, which is more than some regions in the United States used to be able to say of themselves; and racketeering has never been able to become a major scandal in this country. Our Civil Service is appointed by the democratic system of examination: the undemocratic "spoils system" has never played the part it has in the United States. Then we must remember that Britain was a pioneer of religious freedom, as well as of political freedom. The growth of nonconformity, with its myriads of active, independent, and earnest congregations, played a great part in encouraging individual independence and all kinds of crusading movements. Democracy can come alive in various ways, and one of them is by having a sense of mission about various democratic ideals. The British anti-slavery movement was a notable example of this.

THIS Protestant tradition of independence also found embodiment in all sorts of organizations for self-help. Our British trade unions, our innumerable friendly societies with their mutual insurance schemes, and later, our co-operative movement, all came into being as vigorous expressions of British democracy. Press, speech and opinion are as free with us as in any country in the world.

In its labor relations, Britain has on the whole been more democratic than the United States. Our strikes have never been marred by such violence as in America, nor turned into miniature civil wars; and we have not suffered so much from illegal or extra-legal vigilante organizations. Collective bargaining and political trade unionism are among the useful machinery by which British democracy has come to express itself.

As regards education, elementary education is free and universal, secondary education is now cheap and of high standard, and, after many years, university education has become pretty thoroughly democratized. Voluntary effort is very prominent in this field, and works on the whole in a democratic direction. It has resulted in the extreme variety and the freedom from regimented uniformity which our educational system enjoys and which part-

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ly compensate for its class-structure.

We still have great inequality of wealth, though our taxation destroys a considerably greater amount of that inequality than in America; and the remarkable growth of our social services insures that nobody shall fall below a certain minimum standard of life, that unemployment and sickness shall not spell destitution, and that the stigma of receiving charity or poor relief has been now replaced by pensions and other benefits which men and women can accept as rights without any loss of self-respect.

Finally, British democracy in its imperial aspect has made one great invention—that of the Commonwealth of free and equal Dominions, bound together by common values and ideas instead of by compulsion or even by a formal constitution.

So I think it is fair to say that the average Englishman has had the sense of being reasonably free to do and say what he likes, of being able to express his political views freely and fairly effectively, of being free to organize with others to stand up for his rights and interests, of belonging to a country which on the whole has consistently stood for freedom, of being given a reasonable opportunity to make something worth while out of his individual life. And that is a real form of democracy, if very far from a perfect one.

Of late years that sense has been somewhat shaken by economic insecurity and the threat of war looming over from Europe. But the Englishman is now very much determined that the freedoms and opportunities he has achieved in the past shall not be lost; and this is another expression of the democratic spirit.

Animals on Trial

That white Peking duck which has turned into a drake is lucky to live in the twentieth century. In the year 1474 a cock was tried, condemned to death, and executed at Basle for having laid an egg. (The hapless bird thus convicted of witchcraft was presumably an old hen; old hens do sometimes assume cock's plumage.) The practice of bringing animals to trial was not very uncommon in French courts from the twelfth to the eighteenth century. A sow was condemned to death (for having killed and eaten a child) in 1457, and so recently as 1740 a cow was legally executed. One's only record of an animal's having been tried in recent years on a "superstitious" charge comes from Malta, where police and the courts were reported to have taken action against a parrot which took the name of St. Anthony in vain and uttered other blasphemies. The bird was executed.

—"Lucio" in the *Manchester Guardian*, England

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'The Great Dictator' Overseas

IT IS natural that Chaplin's *The Great Dictator* should not be exhibited in Germany, Italy, Japan, Holland, Belgium, Luxemburg, Poland, Norway, Denmark, Rumania, Hungary and France. But it is also prohibited in Buenos Aires and in some cities of Brazil and Peru. Whether this is because of direct pressure from totalitarian embassies or consulates or because of personal sympathies toward the dictatorships, must be left to the judgment of the reader. In Mexico, Nazi protests were rejected, and the film had a sensational success, and similarly in Panamá. In Chile, in the face of Nazi protests, on the opening night four movie houses netted 140,000 pesos ($5,600), an amount unprecedented in Chilean movie history. It was first shown in Uruguay on January 15 at the Cine Trocadero in Montevideo and the Cine Stella in Colonia. Special boat trips have been arranged between Buenos Aires and Colonia for those inhabitants of the Argentine capital who are determined to see it even if they must go to Uruguay to do so. The first showing in Bolivia will take place in La Paz sometime in the middle of March.

Russia has purchased two copies of *The Great Dictator* to try out in Leningrad and Moscow. If it is decided that the film is only a satire, eighty more will be imported for distribution throughout the Soviet Union.

Under the headline "The Clownish Stupidity of Charlie Finds in London Spectators Worthy of It," Mussolini's *Il Popolo d'Italia* prints the following dispatch from Berlin: "The unlucky vicissitudes of this Jewish production are significant, because they were lost twice when crossing the Atlantic destined for England, when British ships carrying them were sunk. In America, also, the clownish propaganda piece of Charlie suffered a fiasco everywhere. But in London, the Jew Chaplin found a public worthy of him." In contrast to this is the statement from United Artists, producers of *The Great Dictator*, that while the picture has not yet been generally released, it is already well on the way to earning more revenue than *Modern Times*, the most successful heretofore of the Chaplin pictures.

We've all just seen 'The Great Dictator'
—*News Chronicle*, London

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One opinion is that the two people necessarily have much in common

What Americans Think of Australia

By FRED ALEXANDER

Austral-Asiatic Bulletin

THERE are, of course, Americans and Americans. No Australian observer can claim to be able to speak for them all. And what Americans think about Australia today may be very different from what they will think tomorrow—as it certainly is different from what they thought six months ago.

It's well, therefore, to preface this article with an explanatory note. It represents the thoughts which suggest themselves after some nine months spent in different parts of the United States—on the Pacific Coast, between Los Angeles and Seattle; in New York and Washington; in the Middle West, with a base in Chicago and visits into Iowa and Minnesota; in New England's busy towns and pleasant countryside. Nine months spent for the most part in getting Americans to air their views about the Pacific in general and Australia in particular; nine months talking with professors and politicians, with journalists great and small, with business men and bankers, with labor leaders and ministers of religion, with university students and with a motley collection of taxi drivers, hotel porters and other American citizens.

What follows is no statistical summary of the present state of American opinion. Still less is it a prediction of American opinion tomorrow. Other would-be prophets may Gallup to victory or defeat on the Australian-American field. For the purposes of this article, it is enough to stress certain facts which, it is submitted, must be taken into account in interpreting the American attitude to Australia in any set of circumstances which may arise in the coming months.

First among these facts is the friendly feeling which Americans have and which they readily display toward Australians. We are a people like themselves, they feel. We get on well together. Fraternization with Austra-

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lian troops in France is not forgotten; the handful of tourists who have since visited Australia confirm these feelings, for all their gibes at Australian "plumbing" and heating (?) of Australian trains. In a vague sort of way, moreover, the Australian way of life is felt to square up with American standards of decency and freedom. Australia's early record of social legislation is respected by New Dealers; strangely enough, too, the one-time suspicion of business and financial leaders that ours was a "labor-ridden" land has given place to a healthy respect for the speed with which we pulled ourselves out of the worst phase of the economic depression. In short, we've nothing much to live down in the minds of most Americans. The American people are able to think of closer collaboration with Australia—if it should commend itself for any reason—free from the suspicions which dog the path of those who seek to promote Anglo-American collaboration.

Fact No. 2 is not so flattering. Some of the friendly feeling for Australians may be based on ignorance. It's not a fair sample to quote the lady on the Pacific Coast who inquired of the writer last March what the train service was like between Sydney and Wellington; to the great majority of Americans, nevertheless, Australia and New Zealand are little more than places on the map.

This lack of detailed knowledge of Australia is intelligible enough. After all, we are a very long way from North America, and 7,000,000 people make a small total to set against a 130,000,000. The point is also worth making to an Australian audience that there's little hope of persuading Americans that, appreciable though their trade with us may be, they will ever reach the point of regarding the Australian market as one of vital importance to the United States.

MORE surprising to the writer was the lack of knowledge of the East Indies which inquiries on the Pacific Coast revealed as late as March. To most Americans the Western Pacific was virtually synonymous with China and Japan. Again, the fact was intelligible upon reflection. There had been no American missionaries in the islands to stir the hearts of even Midwestern congregations regarding the natives of the Netherlands Indies, as for decades those hearts had been stirred by missionary accounts from China and Japan. Vital American imports of tin and rubber? Yes, but the American housewife wielding the can-opener in the kitchen or her husband changing the tires in the garage gave never a thought to the considerable trade in the respective raw materials which came (mostly in foreign bottoms) from the Indies to a few large American concerns. It is true that the months from March to November of this year have seen real changes in this matter. With American rearmament in the headlines, strategic raw materials brought the East Indies sharply before the minds of the American people—in some cases, for the first time. But what may be called Fact No. 3 stll holds; emotionally, the Western Pacific reaches the American public via Tokyo and Chungking rather than via Batavia

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and Singapore or even by way of Manila or Canberra.

In this third fact there is some consolation for us as Australians. The emotional response of Americans to the Far Eastern scene is mainly one of suspicion and distrust of Japan, combined with friendship and admiration for China. In all parts of the United States, this anti-Japanese feeling forces itself upon the observer's attention. On the Pacific Coast it is actively associated with dislike of any competition with Japanese migrants; there and elsewhere it may also be linked with an acute fear of a Japanese threat to American security; even where it is not apparent, however, it will usually be found not far beneath the surface. There can be no possible doubt that a Japanese southward drive toward Australia or to the Indies would provoke a violent emotional reaction from the American people.

It's quite another question whether this emotional disturbance would produce or permit effective official action, the foreknowledge of which would be sufficient to deter Japan. In attempting to answer this question, a fourth fact must always be borne in mind. The point is necessarily made briefly and dogmatically here, but it is made with strong conviction; the American's attitude towards action in the Pacific is determined primarily by his reading of the situation in Europe. Even Pacific Coast Americans in January-March of 1940 showed clearly by their answers that their approach to the question of an effective embargo or to any other hostile action (as distinct from gestures) against Japan was colored by their suspicions of the Far Eastern policies of European "imperialist" Powers. The Far East might prove a backdoor to war in Europe—and in January-March the vast majority of the American people were little more than critical observers of a European conflict which they were determined not to enter.

HERE, too, there have been many changes in the last few months. The fall of France destroyed the critical aloofnesss, but it also emphasized the hold which Europe had on the minds of Americans. Until the British had put the greater part of the French Fleet out of Hitler's reach, the pressure for removal of the United States Navy from the Pacific to the Caribbean was very much stronger than most people realized at the time. Moreover, it was not until the threatened invasion of Britain had evidently failed that most Americans allowed themselves to re-examine the possibilities of an active transpacific policy.

When they did turn their minds to the Pacific, the pendulum showed signs of swinging farther than ever before. The logical extension of the destroyers-for-bases deal in the Atlantic was obvious enough. Americans who had once begun to think in terms of outer lines of defense naturally enough began to talk of access to British bases in the Southwest Pacific. Press and radio kites were flown again and again from September to November to suggest that secret agreements were pending between the United States, Great Britain, Austra-

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PALO ALTO PUBLIC LIBRARY READING ROOM

lia and New Zealand, which would bring American warships to Singapore. These reports apparently got through to Australia. Australian friends of the writer who had read some reports from his pen written at the end of June have recently written criticizing what they were pleased to call undue pessimism and excessive caution. The American people, these friends declared, are now fully seized of the significance of outer lines of defense. American collaboration with Australia, New Zealand and Great Britain in the defense of the Southwest Pacific is therefore, in their eyes, assured.

So it may be. Americans today are thinking far more than they have ever done before about Australia and about the significance for the United States of the Southwest Pacific. There is also convincing evidence to suggest that official as well as unofficial strategists have come to draw a sharp distinction between the task of an offensive naval war in Japanese home waters and defensive naval action to prevent Japanese expansion farther south. Now that the Presidential election is over it may be that the much discussed agreement covering access to Singapore, if it were concluded, would find a ready response from a considerable section of the American people. It might even be possible for the Administration to sell a policy of vigorous action in the Western Pacific to Americans whose preconceived ideas and prejudices still make them shudder at the thought of action across the Atlantic.

But a pendulum which swings far in one direction may swing back just as easily. There are Americans strong in their desire for support of Great Britain who fear that entanglement across the Pacific might limit effective aid to the British in Europe. There are others who fear that attack might come from Europe while the United States was engaged in a life and death struggle with Japan. This fear was all-powerful in June; it is quiescent now, but a series of British reverses in the Mediterranean or in the Atlantic would revive the fear, with repercussions on United States policy in the Pacific which are unpredictable.

ALL THIS in no spirit of pessimism regarding Australian-American relations. Those relations today are closer than they have ever been before; they may become closer still at any moment. But the most effective thing Australians can do to make and to keep them close is not to indulge in wishful thinking about the practical results of the friendly feelings of the American people for Australians and of their hostility towards Japan. The best service Australians can render to the cause of Australian-American relations is to make Australia's armed strength such that when the hour for joint action came, ours would be no mean contribution to the common cause in the Southwest Pacific, where both nations have much at stake. It may be that it is a weakness of the American people to be over-fond of gestures in their conduct of foreign affairs. This may perhaps explain why they respect and admire—and frequently give generous response to—courageous action by others.

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Straws in the Wind

Refugee Phonetics

The refugee had been learning English by the phonetic system, and when applying for naturalization was questioned on his knowledge of our language. All went well at the oral tests, but the candidate was unsuccessful when it came to dictation.

Asked to write "fish," he rendered it "ghoti." This he justified as follows: "gh" as in "rough," "o" as in "women," and ti as in "ambition."

—*Manchester Guardian*, England

Gallic Double Talk

—Where shall we meet?
—Wherever you want to.
—At what time?
—Whenever you want to.
—All right, then, but be punctual.

—*Gringoire*, Paris

Or Even at High Noon

I noticed with shocked surprise that Dr. Walter Rose would like to institute an anti-nuisance campaign and suggests it should begin with the destruction or removal of all crowing cocks . . . . Many true rooster lovers in this town will be madly indignant at the suggestion that anyone should dare to advocate the abolition of their pet's glorious crowing when the moon gives forth her light in the depths of night, or when the sun blinks rosily on the horizon at morn.

—Letter in the *Cape Times*, Capetown, South Africa

But It's Not a Dream

Since Mussolini's "*mare nostrum*" has become a "treacherous sea," he will, I hear, name it in future, "nightmare nostrum."

—Lord Peterborough in the *Daily Telegraph*, London

Journalism in Nigeria

The long drawn gossip story of Mrs. Jeffers and Mrs. Garber ended at the Sabongeri Court when a masterly an exhaustive judgment was delivered by T. P. Barlatt Hughes Esq. President mixed court. It is quite time that Sabougeri Sierra Leoneans try to wash their dirty liners out of court and try to live spiritual lives; Sierra-leoneans have been losing grounds up this end, as fast as night follows day. I think we should see ourselves as we are and not as others see themselves.

The president brought home to all present the proverbial phrase "He that keepeth his mouth keepeth his life. A word to the wise is sufficient."

—*Comet*, Lagos, Nigeria

Ravages of War

Chalked newsbill in London:

Your Courage
Your Cheerfulness
Your Resolution

Will cost you a penny a pint more.

—*Daily Post*, Liverpool

Fake! Fake!

At the circus: Director, director! We must cancel today's performance!

Director: Why?

—Well, it seems that the dwarf beat up the giant, which provoked his sweetheart, the legless wonder, to kick the dwarf in the pants. That resulted in a free-for-all, during which the boneless freak had his arm broken.

—*Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, Zurich

R.I.P.

Mrs. - - - 's beloved Siamese neuter, Jo-Jo (Angus Romney), passed on peacefully following an epileptic seizure on November 1, 1940.

—*Fur and Feather*, London

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Wrestler Bites Rajah

"Wrestler Divorces Rajah's Daughter" (headline). That is news. So is Rajah Divorces Wrestler's Daughter. So is Wrestler's Daughter Divorces Rajah. So is Daughter Divorces Rajah's Wrestler. The drama and the bombshell consist in the words "Wrestler" and "Rajah." Substitute Fishmonger and Dry Die Sinker and the thing isn't worth more than three columns nowadays. I forget why.

—"Beachcomber" in the *Daily Express*, London

Original Sin

Jukskei is an honored Boer game, and we all want to keep it a Boer game, come what may. So it is tragic to state that in this vicinity during a tournament a woman . . . came and played with a cigarette in her mouth. A person can but say—for shame! She was nonetheless dexterous with the *skei*, but the un-Afrikaans habit (*gogga*) merely made her disgusting.

—"Boer" in *Die Transvaler*, South Africa

The Obedient Auditor

"Why on earth do you make such a noise cooking?"

"Because, dear, the radio said: 'Put the chicken in the pot, ssss, brrr, zzz, bang, fututut, then add a piece of butter, grrr, tatata, oooooo, and a drop of wine, bump, popopop, ssszzz.'"

—*Die Weltwoche*, Zurich

No Doubt About It

Lord Roseberry, speaking at the annual meeting of the Thoroughbred Breeders' Association at Newmarket last night, said that he did not think that the necessity for racing was generally realized outside the circle of owners and breeders.

—*Times*, London

The Indomitable British

Wearing an old dress won't matter much if there is a mink coat to cover it.

—Adv. in the *Evening Standard*, London

Epistolary Pebble

A soldier on the march felt something in his boot. His toe became painful and he was limping badly by the time he got back to camp.

He took off his boot and sock to bathe his blistered foot and found a pellet of paper lodged in the toe of the sock, on which was written, "God bless the soldier who wears these socks!"

—"The Chiel" in the *East London Daily Dispatch*

Practical Mathematics

Teacher: Suppose you are five children and your mother has only four potatoes for you. What happens?

Precocious pupil: Mashed potatoes.

—*Argentinisches Tageblatt*, Buenos Aires

Another Version

"Veni, vidi, vici": So Caesar's message ran:
"I came, I saw, I conquered: deny it, he who can."
The triumphs of the Führer are not so safe a bet:
Veni, vidi, Vichy . . . . He hasn't conquered yet.

—"Dogberry" in the *News Chronicle*, London

We Second the Motion

Oxford traditionally trains men for the loftiest positions in State and Church. "The Higher Mathematics, and may they never be of any use to anybody!" is Cambridge's proud and sufficient boast.

—Harold Hobson in the *Sunday Times*, London

Down with Education

What about Education costing this country a tremendous lot of money? It is bleeding this country to death today and is doing more harm than good . . . Education as a profession, I think, is one of the easiest jobs there is . . . It makes one wonder whether we have any Christianity.

—Letter to the *Morecambe and Heysham Visitor*, England

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A noted psychologist says a new wisdom is needed to control it

Man's New Power Poses a Problem

By C. E. M. JOAD
World Review, London

IT IS instructive these days to look again at Spengler's *Decline of the West*. Not only is the work one of first-rate importance which brings all history within the scope of its vast purview and lays upon the reader a spell so compelling that, while engaged in the act, he finds it impossible to escape the conclusions, but it makes a special appeal because of its topical interest. Spengler died in disgrace, but his book has become the Nazi highbrows' Bible. All Nazis read *Mein Kampf*; highbrow Nazis read *The Decline of the West*. Nor is the fact surprising. Spengler has already, from the Nazi point of view, been so often and so nearly right, that, if he turns out to be right all the time, right in every particular, then the Nazis are set for world domination.

Let me briefly recall the relevant parts of the Spenglerian thesis. The last of the inevitably determined phases through which a culture passes is that of extreme democracy. Art decays; the glowing river of inspiration trickles away into the backwaters of erudition and cleverness; religion flags; men no longer believe in the providential government of the universe, that this life has meaning or purpose, or that it will be followed by another.

Agnosticism in regard to creeds finds its inevitable counterpart in laxity in regard to codes. Epicureanism becomes the moral order of the day, and young men and women increasingly adopt "let us eat and drink for tomorrow we die" as the only acceptable guide to conduct. They did it in the later Roman Republic; they are doing it again today. Government has become an extreme democracy that maintains its power only by spoon-feeding the people. In Rome the bribes were bread and circuses; in England, the dole and football pools. Great technical proficiency is the keynote of this phase; it

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is an age of money, metal and machines.

The phase passes and is succeeded by Caesarism and power politics. The strong government of the Roman emperors succeeds the strife-torn divisions of the later Republic; an autocracy holds the nation in an iron hand; the iron hand extends its grip over neighboring peoples and the Pax Romana descends upon the Continent.

With the Nazis cast for the role of the Romans, and Hitler assuming the mantle of Caesar, the parallel between the classical and the modern world is as complete as it is gratifying. If the question be put, what produces the transition from democracy to Caesarism, the answer is to be found in the one word "power," the power of machines that increases production and leads to the monopolization of wealth, the power of weapons that robs numbers of their importance and concentrates authority in the hand of those who command them.

I do not propose to criticise the Spenglerian conception of history. I confine myself to concentrating upon one factor in his diagnosis from which I propose to draw a rather different deduction. The factor is precisely this factor of power. What has to be admitted is that this generation is prodigiously more powerful than any of its predecessors. By the aid of machinery we have enormously increased our original bodily inheritance. We have made cranes and lifts to extend the power of arms; trains and cars to add to the speed of legs; our productive machines are so many extra hands; our calculating machines so many extra brains.

THE result is that in power both of production and destruction we have enormously outstripped every preceding generation. The trouble is that we do not know how rightly to use it. While our power has increased, our wisdom has not; in fact, the disparity between our power and our wisdom is at once the peculiar characteristic and the characteristic danger of our civilization. It is not too much to say that the fundamental problem of our time is that of so increasing our wisdom, or, if the expression be preferred, our virtue, that we may become fitted to meet the challenge of our power.

In power over nature, that is to say, in mastery of the means to life, we have, I repeat, enormously outstripped our predecessors. In knowledge of how to live as individuals (ethics), of how to live together in communities (politics), we are no further forward than the ancient Greeks. What we need is a development of the spirit commensurate with the development of our power.

Such a development has, it is obvious, not hitherto been forthcoming. On the contrary, it is difficult at times to avoid the suspicion that man's control over himself has diminished *pari passu* with the increase of his control over matter. As belief in the traditional religion has declined, young people have been left without a creed to canalize their aspirations or a code to guide their conduct. Lacking any incentive to adopt what might be called a long-term insurance policy to life, they have

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fallen back upon the satisfaction of the more immediate and obvious desires and, like the young people living in the last phase of Spengler's cultures, find in "let us eat and drink for tomorrow we die" the only tolerable guide to living; a guide which few of us can tolerate for long.

The human mind, said Pascal, naturally believes, the human will naturally loves, and in the absence of worthy objects they will cleave to unworthy ones. The parable of the Seven Devils that entered the swept and garnished chamber illustrates the same truth, the truth that nature abhors a vacuum in the spiritual world, no less than in the physical, and that sooner or later substitutes will be found for the religious faith that has declined and the ethical principles that have been jettisoned.

Particularly intolerable is the absence of creed and code to the mind of the young. H. G. Wells has diagnosed in the inability of our civilization to find adequate outlets for the energy, adequate scope for the talents, and adequate objects for the aspirations of its young men and women, at once its greatest defect and its greatest danger.

The stage is thus set for a religious revival. It is set (1) because of the disparity between our technical and our spiritual development, between, as I have put it, our science and our wisdom. Unless this disparity can be made up and we can find objectives worthy of our powers, we shall use them to destroy ourselves; (2) because of the absence of a creed in which educated men can believe, and the restlessness and spiritual discomfort that the resultant vacuum entails. Unless this vacuum can be filled, men will be driven to war, to suicide, or to revolution, because of their inability to tolerate a life that has lost its meaning.

YET WHAT form can religion take? It is not merely that the educated consciousness rejects the supernatural tenets of Christianity; what Walter Lippmann calls somewhere the "acids of modernity" seem at times to have eaten away the very capacity for faith, and one may well wonder whether any equivalent set of dogmatic affirmations about the nature and purpose of the universe is likely to be accepted where the old have been rejected.

It is in this connection that, apart altogether from its own intrinsic interest, the suggestion for religious revival which has reached us in recent months from America strikes one with an air of extreme timeliness. Broadly speaking, the suggestion amounts to a revival of the claims of Hindu mysticism reexamined in the light of modern science.

Let me first try to summarize the position of Gerald Heard as set forth in that extremely interesting book, *Pain, Sex and Time*. Heard accepts the diagnosis of the disease of our times that I have suggested above; he agrees that ours is a civilization which, having mastered means, has forgotten ends. It follows that the basic problem of our civilization is to obtain a new set of ends.

But a new set of ends can appeal only to a new kind of consciousness. Man in the past has desired power, wealth and comfort, and has been mo-

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tivated by greed, pride and self-assertiveness. He can only fail so to desire, cease to be so motivated, if he becomes a different sort of creature. In other words, if our civilization is to survive, we ourselves must change. Mr. Heard asserts that a change in human nature is the next item on the evolutionary program.

Evolution has passed through two main phases, First, the physical phase, in which creatures were successively evolved who were first progressively larger and then progressively more complicated. The limits of physical evolution were reached in man; hence, if man was to continue the process of development, he must contrive a new method of evolving. He did so, and introduced the second or technical phase of evolution. Briefly, this consists in the making of tools and machines which, biologically regarded, are limbs that we have contrived outside ourselves to supplement our physical inheritance.

We have now reached the end of this second stage of evolution, and unless we can contrive a further method of evolving, we shall relapse and fall back. The technical phase is, indeed, already showing signs of decadence in the shape of increased specialization without co-ordinating purpose. Scientists reach their results in watertight compartments, while philosophy and religion, which should connect the compartments and pool the results, are sterile or derided. Meanwhile there is an accumulation of resources that we do not know how to use.

Granted the need for a new method of evolving, on what plane will it take place? Mr. Heard answers, upon the psychical. Hence we are introduced to the conception of a new mutation, occurring this time in the soul of man, as a result of which his consciousness will be so enlarged that it is capable of conceiving and pursuing new ends that are commensurate with his technical mastery of means.

At this stage of the argument a new factor is introduced. If this mutation is to occur, we must co-operate in its production; in other words, we can only change if we will to do so.

Finally, the whole tempo of evolution is rapidly accelerating and the periods between mutations diminish. The steps of the argument are, therefore, as follows: (*a*) evolution must go on somehow; (*b*) it cannot go on in the animals; (*c*) it can go on psychically in man and take the form of a mutation in consciousness.

As a result of this mutation the barrier between consciousness and the unconscious will disappear; we shall consciously realize our oneness with life as a whole with which the unconscious is already continuous, though the fact is at present withheld from us, and our enlarged consciousness will give us direct insight into the nature of reality. Also, incidentally, we shall be free from the spur of sexual desire, lose the capacity for feeling pain, and "achieve a non-violent sanction for all human relationships."

It is possible to deny the whole conception of a purposive creative activity behind the process which we know as evolution. Most biologists would, I think, do so. They do not, of course, know why evolution occurs,

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but there is no evidence, they would say, for the view that it is purposive. And is it really credible that a force, originally blind, should *emerge* into purposiveness? Does purposiveness become, as it were, tacked on to it by accident? If so, the whole human adventure upon this planet, indeed the whole pageant of life wherever it may appear, is the result of pure chance. If not, then the force is purposive to begin with, in the sense that it at least *purposes* to become purposive. Again, on what are the powers and faculties of man's enlarged consciousness to be directed? Consciousness is always *of* something, and different levels of consciousness are chiefly to be distinguished by virtue of the different objects upon which they are directed.

It is here that Aldous Huxley may help us. He has eloquently described a view of the universe that is broadly indistinguishable from the traditional view of the mystics. Here is a statement of it from *Ends and Means*:

"The mystic exhibits disinterestedness in the highest degree possible to human beings, and is therefore able to transcend ordinary limitations more completely than the man of science, the artist or the philosopher. That which he discovers beyond the frontiers of the average sensual man's universe is a spiritual reality underlying and uniting all apparently separate existents—a reality with which he can merge himself and from which he can draw moral and even physical powers which, by ordinary standards, can only be described as supernormal."

In other words, the universe is a spiritual unity. We are expressions of that unity; indeed, it constitutes our true selves. By following certain rules of living and disciplines of thinking, we can come to know the true self. We can come, therefore, to know the spiritual reality that expresses itself in the true self; and since in knowing the true self we become it, we become what we know. Thus to know reality is to be merged in reality. The answer to the question upon what will Heard's enlarged consciousness be directed is, therefore, that it will be directed upon that reality which is our own inmost essence. Huxley's statement of the position is, however, independent of biology in the sense that it does not postulate evolutionary change as a condition of enlarged consciousness. By following the appropriate disciplines we can enlarge our consciousness now.

SOCIETY must be despaired of, and in face of the approaching collapse of their civilization men of intelligence and good will must form communities in which they can keep alive something of the old culture and practice themselves in those disciplines which are a necessary condition of the coming of the new. In *After Many a Summer* Mr. Propter explains how these communities may be made self-supporting. In the centuries that succeeded the collapse of the Roman Empire, the monasteries, which were the repositories of the ancient culture, were also the guardians of the new religion that was to displace it. It is precisely such a dual task that Mr. Huxley would propose for his communities in the approaching collapse of our civilization.

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Death and the Newspapers

By Fergus Glenn

Canadian Forum, Political Monthly, Toronto

NOTHING is more striking in a wartime world than the re-scaling of news values by our newspapers. One might almost call it a betrayal of the code which the newspapers themselves have honored in times of peace for more than a century.

What is news? That is a question about which there have been many arguments. But newspapers have never had any doubt as to the the right answer—in peacetime. Back in Horace Greeley's day and beyond, the newspapers of this continent, confirming traditions derived from the Old Land, and even giving them new sanction and emphasis, established their own scale of news values. Broad classifications were laid down, in order of importance, and young reporters were taught to respect them. These, they were told, are the kind of events people want to read about in their newspaper. A "nose for news" implied an instinctive recognition of the validity of this scale of values, based upon what every publisher and editor considered to be fundamental in human nature. And at the very head of the list came—Death.

Death in its most personal form—that is, the demise of an individual or of individuals known to the reader. Death of a humble person, whose passing could have an intimate meaning for only a very limited circle. Death of a personage much more widely known. And, by preference, sudden, unexpected or violent death, especially the latter. Murder, manslaughter, or less calculated forms of violent death, such as may result from a drunken brawl. Judicial death, as in a hanging. Accidents to individuals resulting in death, or probable death—a motor car collision, a train accident, a fire, a mine cave-in, a drowning, in which an individual is fatally hurt.

But, still better, as every editor knew, was violent death on a grand scale—an explosion, a major fire, a train wreck, the sinking of a ship, a tornado, a volcanic eruption, or an earthquake. These, of course, were occasional windfalls, not to be counted on, but to be made the most of when they came. Something to hurl the whole staff of a newspaper upon, no expense spared and no holds barred.

War is the ultimate in mass dying, and even the anticipation of war provides the possibility of violent death on a scale unlikely in times of peace. Thus, our newspapers during the tense days of 1933 to 1939 found in events abroad, if not always dying on a mass scale, the imminent possibility of multiple deaths, and their headlines reflected these conditions with ill-concealed gusto.

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What happened to newspapers when Canada actually went to war raises interesting speculations about this traditional emphasis on Death. To participate effectively in a war, to mobilize all the resources of a nation for mass killing, one must not think too much about Death. It is apt to destroy morale. There still remains a certain thrill in hearing of a person or of persons one knows meeting a violent end, but when this news carries an implication that similar violent death may shortly overtake one's relatives or friends, even oneself, the thrill is less pleasant. It is all very well to think of the enemy dying in large numbers; and even casualty lists on one's own side may at times stimulate morale by rousing anger. But the tendency in this war has been to issue casualty lists more sparingly, and to minimize the extent to which death is taking toll of our side.

AS FOR violent death, individually or en masse, from causes other than war, it is definitely given a back seat in wartime. This, I submit, is not solely due to the fact that the mass slaughter of war has overshadowed less wholesale forms of death and thus dulled our capacity for reaction, but because energies are needed for prosecution of the war and cannot be dissipated in thinking about death in its ordinary, peacetime forms. Newspapers recognize this, and give much less attention to murders, executions, and fatal "acts of God" while war is in progress.

This suggests that perhaps, after all, the editors have been wrong heretofore in their scaling of news values. Normal people do not like to dwell on the fact of death. But death has a fatal fascination for us, and contemplation of it becomes an almost irresistible form of masochism. Newspapers have always recognized and catered to this fact.

In wartime, we have a job to do which may provoke our sadistic tendencies, but leaves no room for masochism. The newspapers recognize this too. And Death takes a holiday, so far

—*Daily Herald*, London

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as our newspapers are concerned.

One cannot help feeling that this is a sound wartime instinct. The question is whether it isn't a sound instinct for peacetime too. To be sure, the newspapers have had every encouragement in thinking otherwise. What some would consider a perversion of Christianity has given the mind of Christendom a death-fixation. It seems highly unlikely that Christ was as much preoccupied with Death as is the average Christian. He was too preoccupied with Life. "I came that ye might have life, and have it more abundantly." Yet we make masochistic orgies of our funerals, and yield to the fatal fascination that Death holds for us by abetting our newspapers in placing it at the top of their news-scale. Such an inordinate concern with Death feeds a morbid fear of it. It is bound to distort our view of Life, and sap the energies which should be directed to making Life more abundant.

Perhaps it explains the pacifist. In a sense, pacifism is an exaggerated dislike for dying. It says, in effect, anything is better than dying. The pacifist would retort, perhaps, it is only a dislike for dying without achieving any good by the act. One can respect this point of view while still thinking that it places too much importance on the fact of Death. After all, one of the central facts in the life of the Founder of Christianity was his refusal to choose Life rather than Death when Death seemed the only way of achieving his purpose. The purpose for which one dies (if it is a more or less voluntary death) is the important thing, not the mere fact of death. No doubt most pacifists would agree with this thesis. But their attitude lends itself to misinterpretation because it seems to give undue importance to Death.

Christianity is a religion of Life, not of Death. Yet many other religions treat Death more cavalierly than do most Christians. Irrespective of what we believe regarding life after death, our main concern should be with Life, here and now. The significant thing about a man is his life, not his death. If we took our newspapers seriously, we would grow up to think otherwise, since the only thing that ever gets into a newspaper about most people is their death. Death may come to a man peacefully or violently, gradually or suddenly, picturesquely or obscurely, but the principal thing to be noted is what he did with his life when he had it, not the fact or circumstances of his death.

PERHAPS if we dwelt on this truth more, the subject of Death would cease to have the fatal fascination it now has for us. Perhaps we would be more concerned with living than with dying. That is why one tends to welcome the lessened emphasis the newspapers are putting on death these days. It is a healthy instinct. Perhaps ultimately we shall even see the average funeral reduced to the simplicity and dignity of the military ceremonial—a slow march to the grave, a few simple words of farewell, the sounding of "Last Post," and a quick march back to Life, with the colors flying and the band playing a lively air.

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United Palestine Appeal is financing a vast reconstruction in the Homeland

The Jews' Stake in Palestine

By ARTHUR SETTEL

MORE by achievement than by definition, Palestine is the homeland of the Jewish people. Zionists say it, anti-Zionists admit it —and not even Hitler has denied it. It isn't important in point of size. Its area is only slightly larger than that of Maryland and one-fifth the size of New York. Yet its Jewish population of 550,000 represents the largest free Jewish community in the world next to that of the Jewish community in the United States.

Commonly presumed to be devoid of natural resources and dependent upon imports for all of its needs, Palestine is in many respects more self-sufficient than the British Isles. It is rich in limestone, sandstone and gypsum. The Jordan Valley yields rock salt and sulphur,. The Dead Sea is the center of a thriving potash industry. The wine-making industry at Zichron Jacob and Rishon le Zion is famous throughout the world. Soap is made in Nablus, Jaffa and Haifa; olive oil in Nablus, Acre and Jaffa; cement in Haifa.

In the last twenty years hundreds of new products have come from recently established Palestine factories. Matches, nails, cigarettes, furniture are made in Palestine. Jaffa has large foundry plants where pump and motor repairs are made. Lime and charcoal are found in abundance. Fountain pens and perambulators, handbags and bathing costumes, silk products and artificial teeth, wearing apparel and oil derivatives—all are being made in Palestine and consumed in Palestine.

But it is primarily an agricultural country with the growing of citrus fruit its most lucrative commercial activity. There are large crops of wheat, barley, durra, olives, melons and watermelons, grapes, figs, tomatoes and bananas.

In the past decade Palestine's industrial production has increased eight-

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een-fold, capital invested twenty-fold. The number of persons employed has increased by 53 per cent, their output by 75 per cent and the capital by 108 per cent.

The Assistant Treasurer of the Palestine Government has pointed out that Palestine is self-sufficient in foodstuffs to the extent of 70 per cent of its requirements. During the past five years nearly 60 per cent of the expenditure on food by the Jewish population of Palestine was spent on home-grown products, while non-Jews spent 80 per cent on home-produced foods. Palestine produces two-thirds of the wheat and flour which it consumes; 60 per cent of the total consumption of milk and dairy products; 63 per cent of the poultry; 57 per cent of the eggs, and 95 per cent of the fresh vegetables.

Just as the prosperity of Palestine in the last ten years has been a source of wonder to the rest of the world, so the character of the Jewish community living there has restored hope to millions of oppressed and suffering Jews in Europe. The Jew has been condemned for living in the teeming city and shunning physical labor, avoiding farm work. But the Jewish farms in Palestine are the pride and glory of the country, and have been imitated by surrounding Arab lands. The War has caused an economic set-back and unemployment, but the Jews continue to clamor for greater immigration. During the three years of disturbances 80,000 Jews came into the country, the majority of them refugees from Nazi tyranny, and they have been absorbed as quickly as they arrived. Sixty new Jewish agricultural settlements were established for 7,000 men and women who in the main had never worked on the soil before. By nature, tradition and conviction a peace-loving people, Jews have been berated for alleged unwillingness to bear arms. Yet a force of 20,000 Jewish supernumerary police was raised to help the British Army during the 1936-39 riots. And at the present time some 1,500 Palestine Jews are in the Royal Air Force; close to 900 are serving in Jewish infantry companies known as "Buffs"; 1,600 are enlisted in various technical services such as the Royal Engineers, the Royal Army Service Corps; over 2,500 are serving in the Auxiliary Military Pioneer Corps; Jewish companies of stevedores and lightermen handle supplies for the British Army in the Levant; 40,000 youths are ready to serve in any capacity in which they are needed.

BUT IF the Jewish community of Palestine is too paradoxical for compact description, it can be measured in terms of its major achievement. That achievement has been the integration within the bounds of the ancient Jewish homeland of a single, unified group, of a variety of nationals differing in culture, background and habits of thought and of action.

The Jewish community displays the essential characteristics of the democracies. It is enlightened and progressive. The status of women is equal to that of men, and this is not merely in the more formal political aspects of government, but also in economic and social life. The educational system is thoroughly western, with the same pat-

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tern of elementary, secondary and technical schools crowned by a university. A wider field has been found for co-operation in the economic system than characterized even Denmark of pre-War days. In agriculture it is very widespread, and it has also won considerable ground in the towns. Co-operation in Palestine is not confined to consumers' organizations, nor to sale and credit co-operatives. The same device, applied to production, has been carried farther there than anywhere else, and many undertakings, usually left to individual initiative in Denmark and elsewhere, are in Palestine successfully tackled on a co-operative basis.

With Hebrew as the national language, the national home has been reborn on its own soil, and the old religious ideas are being gradually strengthened and purified. Nowhere is the sanctity of manual labor and the voluntary assumption of responsibility for the group carried into daily life with more religious earnestness. In few countries does national patriotism evoke greater sacrifice of self.

The achievement of Palestine Jewry redounds to the credit and advantage of Jews of other countries. It has raised their status everywhere. It has shown them and others that they are capable of doing precisely those things which their dispersion and persecution prevented them from attempting. It has taken the sting out of the gibes of the anti-Semite. And this has not been done at the expense of the Arabs or anyone else.

The importance of Palestine's contribution to the British war effort can be measured in terms of acreage rather than man power. The country has endeavored to become the granary for the British Imperial Armies of the Nile.

"We have increased the size of our cattleherds and sheep flocks and the numbers of our chickens with loans provided by the Palestine Foundation Fund," Dr. Bernard Joseph, of the Jewish Agency, now in this country on a visit from Jerusalem, said recently. "Our farmers have brought 12,400 acres of additional land under cultivation, partly in green fodder, partly potatoes and other vegetables and partly wheat. In all we have increased our output by over 40 per cent. We have also introduced an extensive planting of ground nuts and other plants to provide edible oils. We supply substantial quantities of vegetables, milk and eggs, and some of our settlements are busily engaged in making hundreds of tons of jam for the soldiers. All this is a war record of which I submit Palestine may justifiably be proud."

Behind this ability to serve the Empire's fighting forces in the Near East are twenty-five years of phenomenal growth "inspired by zeal" which is the breath and flame of the Zionist movement. And behind this growth is the system of traditional self-taxation by which Jews in every country of the pre-War world made voluntary gifts toward the upbuilding of Palestine. How are all these funds cleared and administered? Whence do the necessary funds come today?

The National Fund and the Foundation Fund, which is the fiscal instru-

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ment of the Jewish Agency, recognized by the League as the representative body in Palestine of the whole Jewish people—have in recent years spent between six and eight millions annually in acquiring land and in training and settling new immigrants.

The two funds are building up assets and accumulating resources which have made them powerful financial instruments exerting a considerable influence on the life of the country. Their major task is to enable the maximum number of people to settle on the land. Neither of the two funds is profit-making; they seek as far as possible to accumulate assets, one for the purchase of land which is held in the name of the Jewish people as a whole and upon which agricultural settlements are established, the other for the actual creation of the settlements. Since there are no funds forthcoming today from Europe as heretofore, the Jewish community of the United States is seeking to collect $12,000,000 for 1941 through the United Palestine Appeal for the use of the two funds.

Contrasted with these organizations are two corporations, one British and one American, which merit special attention. The British company, the Palestine Corporation Limited, was founded with the object of financing sound industrial and commercial undertakings, and of providing a medium for investment for those interested in the upbuilding of the country on business lines. "Philanthropy and 5 per cent" is the impatient comment of those who see that its shareholders receive regular dividends. But, in fact, the introduction of capital into a country that is short of capital does contribute toward its development. The Palestine Corporation avoids risks as much as possible and thus has attracted capital which might otherwise not be available. It invests the major part of its resources in comparatively safe undertakings.

On the other hand the Palestine Economic Corporation—an American company—adopts an entirely different policy. Realizing that in the building up of a new country a period of investigation, experimentation and inevitable loss must be faced, it attempts to reduce the risks and losses to a minimum. It has been willing to act as a pioneer. Thus, if in a given area the provision of water is inadequate, it forms a water company to deal with this problem. If housing needs are not met by private capital or co-operative enterprise, it sends out an expert to report and sees what can be done to provide economic housing. It has helped to build up co-operatives for mutual aid and has established a Central Bank of Co-operative Societies which grants loans to more than 175 member societies.

DR. CHAIM WEIZMANN, in a historic statement made at the Palestine Conferences in London early in 1939, summarized the Jewish attitude on Palestine. He said:

"At the root of the Jewish problem lies the homelessness of the Jewish people, everywhere a minority, and in many countries helpless and at the mercy of others. They have preserved their identity because of their attachment to Palestine and of their hope of

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a return to Zion. The claim to Palestine has never been abandoned; the Jewish community there never ceased to exist; in every age, groups of Jews worked their way back to Palestine; and for the last sixty years active resettlement work has been going on. The Balfour Declaration recognized these historic facts; and in the Preamble to the Mandate, international recognition was 'given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country.' "

Dr. Weizmann eloquently made it clear to the British Government why no other part of the world can be substituted for Palestine as a "National Home."

"No undeveloped country," said Dr. Weizmann, "can give immediate relief to large numbers of refugees. A long period of experiment must precede such large-scale settlement, and the success of Jewish colonization in Palestine is due to the national and religious fervor behind their effort, which could not be evoked in any other country. Moreover, Palestine has been prepared by sixty years of pioneer work. It has agriculture; it has industry; it has a normally rooted Jewish society. It is now capable of absorbing hundreds of thousands of refugees. If it is not able to take *all*, this is hardly a reason for refusing to allow it to take as many as it can."

Despite the difficulties of the War which have resulted in the closing of the Mediterranean and in the contraction of immigration certificates awarded by the Palestine Government, more than 28,000 Jewish refugees were brought to Palestine, principally through funds provided in the United States by American Jewry. Fifteen hundred Jews were rescued from the cauldron of Rumania since that country was crucified by the German military experts. Many others have succeeded in reaching their destination through devious overland routes.

WHAT is the United Palestine Appeal and how does it function? As the only authorized agency of American Jewry to finance the national reconstruction in Palestine, this organization carries on through its subsidiaries the immigration and establishment of immigrants in Palestine. Since 1933 more than 280,000 Jews from Germany, Austria, Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and other lands have found a home in Palestine with the aid of the United Palestine Appeal. There is no phase of Jewish economic, agricultural, social and cultural rebuilding in the National Homeland that has not been assisted with funds raised by the U.P.A. Between 1919 and 1940 the U.P.A. made possible the establishment of most of the 257 agricultural settlements in the country.

These are the primary functions of the United Palestine Appeal:

1. Assists agricultural and cultural preparation of immigrants in European centers.

2. Directs Jewish immigration to Palestine on a systematic basis.

3. Meets Jewish immigrants on their arrival in Palestine, assists them until places are found for them in agricultural settlements or urban centers, pro-

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vides them with supplementary training and vocational guidance.

4. Purchases the land on which Jewish settlements are founded; develops water resources on the land; afforests the land and leases the soil to settlers on renewable leaseholds, on the understanding that each settler will cultivate his own land and not exploit the labor of others—the land remaining the inalienable possession of the whole Jewish people.

5. Finances the establishment of settlements, which involves the building of homes, barracks and barns; the provision of livestock and implements; the extension of agricultural training; the granting of credits until the settlement becomes self-sustaining.

6. Assists the educational system of Palestine which represents a great network of Hebrew schools providing for some 50,000 pupils; promotes every phase of the cultural, religious and institutional life of the country.

7. Promotes every enterprise in agriculture, commerce, trade and industry which will tend to give employment and thus enlarge the capacity of Palestine to absorb additional immigration.

8. The United Palestine Appeal, through its constituent agency the Jewish National Fund, purchased a total of 520,000 dunams—135,000 acres—of land in Palestine as the inalienable property of the Jewish people.

9. The U.P.A. has aided in the establishment of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, the promotion of Jewish industry and the increase of Jewish factories and workshops from 1,700 to 5,000, as well as the development of the Anglo-Palestine Bank, Palestine Electric Corporation and Palestine Potash Ltd.

10. Through the Foundation Fund, the U.P.A. makes loans available to small traders and artisans, and has made appropriations for the building of the Tel Aviv Port, the first Jewish port in 2,000 years.

11. During the past twenty years, with the assistance of the United Palestine Appeal, there has been a 50 per cent reduction in Jewish infant mortality in Palestine and a 30 per cent reduction in Arab infant mortality.

An Inept Parallel

The Japanese Army spokesman in Shanghai has compared the Japanese withdrawal from Nanning and Shaoshing with a man throwing away a cigarette butt. He argues that the Chinese are getting only what the Japanese are throwing away.

It seems obvious that the Japanese spokesman is not an old China hand or he would know that the Chinese are clever when it comes to doing things with cigarette butts. They even make new cigarettes out of them.

—Carroll D. Alcott in the *China Press*, Shanghai

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The Fascist State takes more than a paternalistic interest in them

Italy Recruits Her Artists

By RETO ROEDEL

Neue Zürcher Zeitung, Zurich Liberal Daily

THE WORD "autarchy" may sound strange in a discussion of art, but it is necessary to use it when dealing with the contemporary Italian school. The visitor to an exhibition in Italy will discover that while one painter may have a special manner of distributing space—may be an outspoken cubist, for instance—and another emphasize pure color values, both are endeavoring to follow Italian rather than foreign models. When, in 1935, the Italian Government found it necessary to establish a far-reaching autarchy in the economic field, it sought also to strengthen autarchy in the spiritual domain—in other words, complete independence of Italian spiritual life, including art, from foreign countries.

It was not easy to establish this autarchy in painting, because it was the general opinion, even in Italy itself, that the last great schools of painting of the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries originated in France rather than Italy. Certainly, Italy too had its great painters during this period, but what is the name of A. Fontanesis, an excellent landscapist, compared with that of Manet? How does that of J. Fattoris, leader of the Tuscan "Macchiaioli" school, compare with that of Cézanne? As late as 1932, at the biennial exhibition in Venice, there was a room devoted to an "Exhibition of the Italians in Paris" (De Chirico, De Pisis, Severini, Campligli and others). It is only since then that these painters have returned to their own country, where they are now engaged in creative art.

True, Italian art in its new aspirations has relaxed its bonds with other countries, but it is still relaxation only, not complete severance. For painters are men with open eyes and everybody must desire that they remain so. But it is also true that Italian painters give evidence of their intention and their

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feeling of obligation to establish more than ever before the expression of Italian spiritual life and Italian forms. And since Italy's spiritual achievements are so great and so universally recognized, embrace such a wide domain and are in no way inferior to those of any other country, one can say that if any nation has a right to establish this obligation, it is Italy. For Italian art, which was in danger of losing itself in a vague infinity, such an obligation can mean only a return to itself, the possibility of drawing new strength from its own soil.

In addition to the official corporation of artists, two ministries are active in the development of today's artistic forces—the Ministries of National Education and for Popular Culture. These are tireless in organizing magnificent artistic events, to mention only the Venetian exhibition of Titian, Tintoretto and Veronese, the exhibition of Ferrari's painting, the Piedmontese Baroque and the Tuscan Cinquecento. As one may think that this series of brilliant events might be intended chiefly for tourist propaganda, it is proper to recall also others which these administrative bodies have initiated which are of a more definitely creative character. Among these are the contests of San Remo, Bergamo, Cremona, etc., mainly for younger artists, and the yearly contest of the *Littoriali della cultura e dell'arte*, for university students.

Obviously, all these organized efforts are to further art with a historic-political background and purpose. This may shock over-sensitive aesthetes, but it will not disturb those who believe that a newly awakened spiritual power must also aspire to a creative reaction on the material world. Did not the Romans give the relief sculptures and the monuments to Trajan, from Nerva to Commodus and under Constantine, an epic character with the unconcealed intention of glorifying the emperors? Did not the Church, in the most brilliant period of its history, use art for the purpose of religious education? And, at the time of the Counter-Reformation, for passionate propaganda? Were Michelangelo, Rafael and Titian prevented from creating masterpieces because their patrons demanded the representation of certain motifs?

IT IS known that the Italian Government gives out large orders for artistic productions. Besides establishing substantial prizes for artistic achievement and organizing contests for new monuments, it also requires that the walls of all public buildings be adorned with frescoes, relief sculptures or mosaics. Perhaps a new Italian style is being developed in this way, working with bright colors and the composition of masses, similar to that of the Quattrocento, a style reminiscent of Massacio but nevertheless modern. These fresco paintings will, perhaps, testify to a great and typically new Italian art. Although this mural art is still in its beginning, it should not be underrated. For obvious reasons, it cannot be shown in ordinary exhibitions, but in the Zurich Exhibition it was represented by two samples, a fresco by G. Leone and a bas relief by Rito Valla, both very young.

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American criticism may be valid but it does not consider all the facts

Britain Explains the Censor's Role

By ROBERT POWELL

The Spectator, London Conservative Weekly

BRITISH press censorship, which has long had its critics in the home field, has recently come in for sharp comment from foreign correspondents in London, particularly from American pressmen, whose accounts of the system's defects have lacked nothing in downrightness. That such criticisms have been allowed to be transmitted to the ends of the earth clearly indicates a freedom on the part of the British authorities from any attempt to curb expression of opinion, and denotes a marked difference between censorship control here and in the Third Reich. Such a possibility would have been unthinkable even in pre-war Nazi Germany, without its logical consequence of expulsion for the writer of such criticism. And in wartime, any statement as to the truth or emptiness of an official communiqué would probably have even more disastrous results.

But this point need not be stressed, since among free peoples it is only a contrast, never a comparison, which is made between totalitarian and democratic methods of censorship. It is inevitable that British censorship should be measured against a background of peacetime freedom of the press, and not against the obvious shortcomings of the German, Italian, or Russian systems. Freedom of expression is acknowledged as the inalienable right of the Anglo-Saxon on both sides of the Atlantic; censorship is alien to him, and its restrictions are irksome and repugnant to the journalist who has to heed them. It is an institution which the democrat would like to see removed altogether. Nevertheless, most people agree as to its being essential in war. Differences of opinion arise rather as to how it should function, particularly as to whether its powers are being used in the best interests of the nation, or merely to bolster up bureaucratic inefficiency or shortsighted-

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ness. In a free democracy the greatest justification for a press censorship is that it exists to prevent the publication of news which might be dangerous to democracy's very existence as constituting information valuable to the enemy.

It should be stated at once that the American correspondents' criticism has not been for the sake of obtaining that kind of information, but rather because it is felt that, within the legitimate limits of wartime freedom of expression, both the amount and nature of the information officially permitted to be disclosed immediately after any particular event could be considerably improved. The general attack has been on the ground that what has been withheld is already known to the enemy, so that withholding it performs no good service, but simply produces annoyance and irritation. This applies especially to the refusal to permit the publication of the names of bombed towns and to the playing down in earliest reports of the damage done during any specific raid. Outstanding cases were, of course, Coventry and Birmingham. Other complaints have been of a more technical nature, particularly the alteration, or deletion from the correspondents' copy, of details which seemed perfectly harmless and often had already appeared in the British press—especially when such delays involved the missing of a special edition of their newspapers. Another complaint has been that certain events have been announced by the B.B.C. to the world in general through a prominent statesman or high officer before the American press has had the opportunity of getting this news across to the United States.

Analyzing the situation more carefully, one sees that the fundamental divergence of outlook between the censors and the press is accentuated in the case of the American journalist by the thoroughness and zeal with which he prosecutes his job. His great aim is to give his newspaper what it wants, and to this he so often adds a touch of sensationalism which is alien to British journalism in general. Such a combination leads to a situation in which on the one hand are the British Government and people waging a war which they consider to be a life-and-death struggle for the defense of that which is best in our civilization; on the other hand, the American pressman, who, though he may also share this view, is first and foremost a reporter of events and trends, and who considers it to be his primary task to get over the news to his editor's desk as quickly as possible.

NOWADAYS the European war, particularly the German bombing of Britain, is an outstanding topic in the United States, and so his editors are continuously cabling the correspondent here for fullest details *immediately* of what is happening, or is rumored to be happening. In his eagerness to comply, the American pressman often gives the impression that what is happening here is primarily a first-class show which must be covered as speedily as possible. No complaint can be made about this, though it is clear that the difference between the outlook in British and American journalism ac-

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centuates the position, especially in abnormal times like the present. Whereas the former paints in shades of grey, the latter generally uses a very broad canvas on which only extremes of black and white appear. The British news report is to the United States reader a mass of understatement, while the American's graphic language is sensationalism to us. Whatever the merits or demerits of both methods—the ideal lies somewhere in between—in wartime such a sensational form of writing naturally suffers at the hands of a British censor of the "understatement" school. It is not unfair also to add that certain American press descriptions of events over here have only with great difficulty been recognized by people who have themselves played a part in them.

Some of the dispatches of the American correspondents a few weeks ago were colored by the annoyance which the censorship had caused them. Otherwise they would hardly have been talking of censorship here as being as "ominously oppressive" as it was in France before that country collapsed. The absurdity of such a criticism is exposed by the fact of their being allowed to criticize unhindered. For not only must it be conceded that, whatever Britain's faults, the intellectual black-out which covers most of Europe today has not reached our shores, but also that the British censorship authorities have no mandate to impose it.

It is interesting to note that American correspondents in their criticisms do not consider that the British control of news is due to anything other than some kind of stupidity, which appears unable to appreciate the fact that much information which is considered valuable to the enemy has already found its way to him. It is not of any kind of desire to tyrannize over the press but of a tendency to ignore its fundamental importance in the waging of this war that the American pressmen complain. "Sometimes silly but never sinister" is the description by which one of these critics recently summed up the situation. It is significant to note also that this same writer gave it as his opinion that, allowing for necessary delays in the transmission of certain items of information, he thought that the American reader did not miss much of what was going on here.

Fortunately, the British censorship, despite certain blunders which not only the American but our own press and Parliament here have publicly exposed, has not weakened the American newspaperman's confidence in our determination jealously to protect our reputation for strict veracity in official statements, even though the latter feels that too often under the plea of war conditions much less of the truth is told than safely could be.

IN CONCLUSION, the British public certainly owes a debt of gratitude to the American press representatives here because of their stand for as much freedom of expression as conditions will permit, particularly as the problem is so often that of defending the frontiers of civil liberty against encroachments of military censorship and of preventing the development of the idea that a free press is simply a burdensome survival from peacetime.

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By the end of March, Protestant groups there must be united

Christian Church Growth in Japan

By SOICHI SAITO

Contemporary Japan, Tokyo Political and Economic Monthly

A NEW era is dawning on Japan at present, just as at the time of the Meiji Restoration in 1868, when modern Japan began to emerge from feudalism. In order to understand recent developments within the Protestant Christian Church in Japan, it is helpful to review certain aspects of the national movement which is popularly known as the "new structure."

It is extremely difficult at this juncture to describe fully in a few words just what the so-called new structure means. At the time of the first Konoye Cabinet (1937-38), proposals were advanced for a nation-wide political reorganization of the country, although nothing tangible developed at the time. Last Spring the issue was revived and made rapid headway toward the dissolution of existing political parties and the installation of Prince Fumimaro Konoye at the head of a single political party. For this reason, Prince Konoye resigned as President of the Privy Council, but in the middle of the movement, Premier Mitsumasa Yonai and his Cabinet resigned, and Prince Konoye was asked to organize a new Government. During the early part of the Summer, definite progress was made toward perfecting details of what was called at that time a new political structure. It soon became evident that the scope of the movement covered much more than purely political aspects of national life and the word "political" was dropped.

Japan's idealistic determination to build up a new order in East Asia is no longer a mere slogan. It has obtained the understanding and support of the entire nation. To cope adequately with this gigantic task, the whole people has arisen in a sincere desire for self-examination and is determined to contribute its utmost toward the realization of the national goal. This new structure movement has come to

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include various economic and cultural aspects, involving drastic changes throughout the country. These changes will affect all aspects of national life, but will remain within the framework of the Constitution. There is no contemplation of any change in the Constitution, the Government organization or in the two Houses of the Diet. In this respect, as in others, it will be seen that the projected new structure is no mere emulation of anything that has transpired elsewhere in the world. It is a genuine endeavor to seek the participation of all the people in a great renovation. All the people and all organizations are expected to tie in with the proposed new structure in some way or other. It should be noted here, however, that the new structure is still in the making. Changes are taking place almost daily, but this description is designed to afford only a general view of the lines along which the new structure is moving.

The sweeping statement is sometimes heard that Japan has become totalitarian. That is far from being correct. There are certain elements in Japanese life which make it unique and because of which it may be said with conviction that totalitarianism as it is understood in the West is impossible in Japan, although there seem to be some who favor it. For twenty-six centuries Japan has centered around the Imperial Family. The form of government has changed from time to time, but it is noteworthy that the fundamental national polity (*kokutai*) has never changed. In every phase of life, including the present drastic changes within the Christian movement, the significance of the innate respect and reverence of the Japanese people for the Imperial Family remains unchanged. It may be difficult for the Western mind to fathom the Japanese heart and its emotions concerning the Imperial Family. Japanese susceptibilities in this matter go very deep, and casual remarks, cartoons or any disrespectful attitude thereon abroad cause great indignation among the Japanese people. It is regrettable that even among Christian writers abroad there are some who fail to comprehend Japanese sensitivity in this respect, which is a source of real embarrassment and a detriment to the development of the Japanese Christian movement.

Neither eclecticism nor superficial criticism will produce a satisfactory solution of the difficult situation facing Japanese Christianity today. It should be noted that the impact of Christianity on Japanese life and culture today is no mere passing phase; nor is it so simple as "a cultural harmonization," as someone has called it. It seems to be difficult even for some missionaries to appreciate the problems confronting Japanese Christians. Altogether too many do not realize the seriousness of the problems besetting us as we seek to re-examine the whole situation. Although both Catholics and Protestants during the history of Christianity in Japan have undergone persecution, the present situation is quite different. Under the new Religious Bodies Law, Christianity has been recognized officially, along with Buddhism and Shintoism, both of which have an incomparably longer history in Japan than Christianity. Moreover,

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the unique contribution Christianity has made in the life, culture and thought of this country has come to be widely appreciated. It also is recognized generally that Christians are good Japanese citizens, even though there have been some critics outside the Church who regard Christians unfairly as being self-complacent and less patriotic than other citizens. This situation constitutes a challenge to all Christians, including missionaries, to do their utmost to remove such misunderstanding and help bring about a better world from the Christian point of view.

This general review of the situation would be incomplete without some brief reference to the so-called tendency to "Japanize" Christianity. Attempts along this line have been made by a number of scholars during recent years. Some have claimed that the central deity in the *Kojiki* (one of the most ancient and most important of the Shinto scriptures) is identical with the Christian God. There also has been some discussion of the necessity for working out a Christian theology which would embody certain Japanese ideas.

Aware of the trends and developments of the new structure movement, Christians have acquired a widespread and quite spontaneous feeling that something should be done. What has been done is the result of a more or less unconscious need for self-reflection, both by individuals and by the church. The unprecedented changes, both actual and potential, that have taken place within the Christian Church in Japan during the last few months therefore cannot be adequately evaluated except in the light of the general trends outlined here. Most of these developments since the first of August now can be reviewed with a fair degree of accuracy. There have been perhaps few periods in the history of Christianity in Japan when such momentous events have been crowded into such a short space of time. Historians of the next generation may be able to evaluate the full significance of the changes in our Christian Church much better than we who

—*Time and Tide*, London

are in the midst of them now, but it is my purpose to outline as objectively as possible recent developments in 1940, the 2,600th year of the history of Japan, and then try to evaluate something of the meaning and implications of the movement which even now is go-

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ing on very rapidly toward its climax.

In the recent situation, there naturaly have been numerous rumors, and apparently many off-hand conclusions have been reached hastily by Japanese Christians, foreign missionaries and others, both here and abroad. It should be made quite clear that there has not been any wholesale persecution of Christianity or of Christians, and in the opinion of responsible Christian leaders there is little likelihood of any such drastic action. It cannot be denied that there have been suggestions by certain Christians deeply concerned with the creation of an indigenous Japanese Christian Church that foreign missionaries should leave the further development of Christianity in Japan to the Japanese. It is regrettable that certain careless actions by some individual missionaries have given rise to misunderstandings and difficulties. There has been no definite suggestion by responsible leaders of the Christian Church, however, that any rash action looking toward the wholesale withdrawal of missionaries should be taken.

A sensation was created in Christian circles around the first of last August by newspaper reports of the arrest of certain leaders of the Salvation Army. The situation was shrouded in considerable mystery at the time. It was announced simultaneously through the press that, although religion was considered very important in the life of the nation, the Government would take immediate and appropriate steps should there develop any clear evidence of espionage under the pretence of religious activities. Later, it developed that some apparently unconscious actions and possibly even unthinking acts of certain Salvation Army officials had been regarded as criminal in the light of present wartime laws and regulations. The detained officials subsequently were released, but they were asked to submit for approval a new constitution which would represent a rather fundamental reorganization, including severance of all ties with international headquarters in London. This reorganization has been effected, and under the name of Kyusei-dan, or Salvation Corps, the institution's former good work is being maintained. However, more emphasis is being placed on open expressions of allegiance to the State and on increased work looking toward the welfare of the nation.

EARLY last August there were a number of scattered demonstrations against certain Christian schools and churches, with some of which were associated British and Canadian missionaries. About this time, Dr. Luman J. Shafer, secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Dutch Reformed Church of America, who had come to attend the seventieth anniversary of the founding of Ferris Seminary in Yokohama, was given a welcome luncheon at the Tokyo Young Men's Christian Association under the auspices of the National Christian Council. After luncheon, there transpired quite spontaneously a discussion by some of those present of the whole church situation in Japan. As a result of various views on how the situation might best be met, it was decided later that Bishop Yoshimuné Abé,

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chairman of the National Christian Council; Dr. Tadaoki Yamamoto, dean of Waseda University and an outstanding layman of the Nippon Kirisuto Church (Presbyterian); and Tsunéjiro Matsuyama, a member of the House of Representatives and one of the outstanding laymen of the Kumiai Church (Congregational), should sponsor a meeting to be held at the Tokyo Y.M.C.A. on August 15, at which time leading Christian pastors and laymen might have an informal discussion of these problems. At that meeting, which was attended by some thirty representative Church leaders, Bishop Naidé of the Episcopal Church of Osaka reported on the action regarding the future of missionaries associated with the Episcopal Church which was being contemplated on his personal initiative. He felt that urgent action was necessary in order to relieve the tension. It appeared that the whole Christian movement was about to encounter entirely new conditions. There also were reports at this meeting from a special lay and ministerial group which had been meeting to discuss church union at Tokyo Women's Christian College. The results of these discussions seemed to indicate the advisability of early action on the union of the different denominations, and this question was taken up at greater length at an enlarged and more representative meeting at the Tokyo Y.M.C.A. on August 17. A similar meeting was held meanwhile in Osaka.

From August 22 to 24, a conference was held at Karuizawa by the central committee of the United Evangelism Committee of the National Christian Council to plan the national evangelistic campaign for the fall. This brought together about sixty outstanding Christian leaders of various denominations all over the country, and those attending were able to get a much clearer idea of what was actually taking place everywhere in Japan. One of the speakers at this meeting was Toyohiko Kagawa, who thereafter returned to Tokyo and, following the sermon at his church that Sunday night, was summoned before the military police with his associate, the Rev. Kiyosumi Ogawa. They were detained for questioning for about three weeks but subsequently were released, clear of any criminal charge.

From August 27 to 29, the Young Men's Christian Association held a special meeting of secretaries at Tozanso, near Gotemba, to discuss the implications of present trends and the effects on the Y.M.C.A. As most of those present were leaders in the movement, the general situation was discussed at length. It will be of interest to those who follow events chronologically that Premier Konoye made his first public statement on the new structure on August 28.

MEANWHILE, several meetings of Christian leaders, notably one on August 29, were held to make plans for a larger and more representative conference at the Tokyo Y.M.C.A. on September 2, when 120 delegates representing all communions and independent non-denominational churches, Christian schools and other types of Christian work came together. This gathering agreed unanimously that, in

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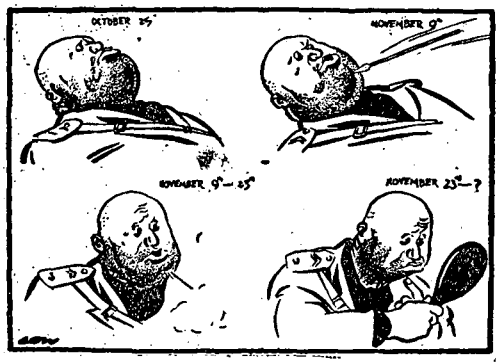
view of the situation both at home and abroad, the Christian Church in Japan henceforth should forgo all financial aid from foreign mission boards and that all positions of administrative responsibility in Christian schools should be turned over to Japanese. Enthusiastic endorsement was given the proposal to bring about a united Christian church.

The meeting also suggested the appointment of a representative preparatory committee with full power to act for the various denominations. The National Christian Council was asked to communicate with the various denominations and, if possible, to secure general meetings of all denominations in order that official action might be taken on the church union proposal before October 17, the day on which a national Christian mass meeting was scheduled to be held at Aoyama Gakuin (a Methodist college in Tokyo) in celebration of the 2,600th anniversary of the founding of the Empire.

On September 6, the Christian Education Association brought together at Aoyama Gakuin the leading presidents and teachers of Christian schools throughout Japan. After a long discussion of the reconciliation of Christian education with the spirit of the times in the country, the meeting agreed unanimously that Japanese Christians should hold all administrative positions in Christian schools and that financial contributions for the maintenance of Christian schools should no longer be received from abroad.



—*Evening Standard*, London

ON THE morning of the same day, there was a meeting of various affiliated Christian agencies connected with the National Christian Council, including representatives of the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., the W.C.T.U., Bible societies, Kyo Bun Kwan (Christian Literature Society) and other Christian literature groups, social welfare and other kinds of work. This group also endorsed the movement for church union and agreed to co-operate when definite action could be taken. A special committee was appointed to consider essential details of problems of relations and adjustment with the new organization.

In the afternoon a special meeting of the executive committee of the National Christian Council discussed and agreed on several propositions that had been made by the informal groups mentioned above. The National Christian Council officially approved the plan and accepted responsibility for executing the proposed church union. A special resolution was voted calling attention to the long history of efforts on the part of the Christian Church in Japan to bring about financial and administrative autonomy. This was added lest it be inferred that the chief cause

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of the action presented to the council was solely the existing situation in Japan and abroad. It also was resolved that at an appropriate time formal expression of gratitude should be made for the assistance from abroad in helping the church to attain the strong position it now occupies in Japan. It was agreed that efforts should be made in the expectation that an announcement of an organic church union could be made at the Christian mass meeting on October 17, the day chosen by the Christians to celebrate the anniversary of the founding of the Japanese Empire.

Details of the proposed church union are still being worked out, but a few aspects thereof have come to stand out quite clearly. One essential will be agreement on one name, one creed and one organization. This will mean a centralized administration and, naturally, dissolution of the National Christian Council as it is organized at present. Full recognition has been given to the many complicated ecclesiastical problems involved in such a quick adjustment. It is probable, therefore, that for the time being, and within the framework of the proposed union, arrangements will be made for at least eight or ten of the larger denominations to continue more or less as they have been functioning. It is the hope and expectation, however, that gradually unity even in the ecclesiastical sense will be achieved.

This movement is not confined to Christian groups alone. On September 15, the religions bureau of the Department of Education called a meeting of representatives of the three officially recognized religions. At that meeting reports were made on the preliminary steps being taken by the Christian denominations, and the Shinto and Buddhist leaders were advised by the authorities to work toward union of their respectively different sects. It was quite evident, however, that the Christian groups had been paving the way and had made far more progress than had even been contemplated by either of the two other groups.

On September 25, a meeting of representative laymen was held at the Tokyo Y.M.C.A., at which a resolution was voted unanimously saying, in effect, that church union was a long-cherished hope and that the time had come to take immediate action toward that end. During this meeting a report was made by a representative of the Nippon Kirisuto Church (Presbyterian-Reformed) that the chairmen of the Choro Church (Presbyterian) had decided that under certain conditions they would join in the proclamation of Japanese Christians for church union on October 17.

UNTIL the National Christian Council meeting on September 6, very little thought or attention had been given to the implications of all these problems on relationships with mission boards and individual missionaries of various churches. Bishop Abé arranged two small meetings of missionaries and another later, on September 13, of some twenty-five outstanding Japanese Christian leaders to think through some of the problems arising from these relationships. Another meeting

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was held on September 17, at which Bishop Abé met the official foreign delegates to the National Christian Council. He stated that no representative of any of the more than forty denominations in Japan had expressed himself at any of the meetings previously mentioned in favor of the immediate withdrawal of all foreign missionaries. Bishop Abé then presented a very clear and concise summary of the consensus of opinion which had been expressed at the meeting of Japanese Christian leaders on September 13. He prefaced this statement by saying that a variety of opinions had been voiced and that, although no formal vote had been taken, he had summarized the general views of those present under four points as follows:

(1) If among the missionaries there are those who feel that their chief contribution to the Japanese churches has been completed and who consider that their continued presence is an embarrassment to their Japanese brethren, then they should be free to return home, and it would not be a kindness for the churches to urge them to remain.

(2) We feel that in some way a procedure should be found whereby the Japanese churches may exchange experiences and advice regarding these matters with the authorities of the missions or directly with the mission boards.

(3) As for local cases wherein friction may arise, we feel that unless they are handled with the greatest wisdom and care they may serve as precedents for other happenings of greater consequence. So a committee of three, consisting of the Rev. Mitsuru Tomita, the Rev. Michio Kozaki and myself (Bishop Abé) has been set up to keep in communication with the field and with the authorities. Any difficulty should be reported instantly to the National Christian Council so that we may do our best to help.

(4) As for those who desire to remain with us, the churches will exert their utmost good offices by way of cooperation and protection.

It should not be assumed that the drastic action on the part of the Christian churches for union came about solely as the result of the present situation. It has been for years the cherished hope of many of the outstanding Christian leaders in Japan to achieve complete financial independence as quickly as possible. The apparent suddenness of the recent action was caused by accumulated momentum both within and without the churches. The complicated international situation, combined with the movements which preceded the announcement of the so-called new structure launched by Premier Konoye, contributed greatly toward bringing to a head a tendency in the churches which had been in the background for more than twenty years. Through these years consecrated Christian leaders have been fostering the movement originated by such men as the late Hon. Hampei Nagao and others, in the hope that one Christian Church could be obtained in Japan. We could go back much earlier and study the attempts made during the early Meiji Era for the union of such churches as the Presbyterian and Congregational denominations.

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It cannot be denied that perhaps the chief immediate cause underlying all of these recent developments is the enforcement of the Religious Bodies Law, which was passed by the last session of the Diet and took effect on April 1, 1940. Under this law, Christianity by name is recognized legally on the statute books of Japan. Leaders of the various denominations have been consulting Education Department authorities on the numerous complicated details involved in their application for registration under the requirements of the Religious Bodies Law. During the summer it became known that the Education Department authorities had decided to recognize only those Christian denominations which have at least fifty different churches and not less than 5,000 members. This meant that of the total of forty or more different Christian denominations—excluding the Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox Churches—now operating in Japan, approval of applications for registration probably would be granted to only seven, namely, Presbyterian, Methodist, Congregational, Episcopal, Baptist, Lutheran and the Sei Kyokai (one faction of the former Japan Holiness Church). The smaller denominations at once saw the implications of this decision and began to take steps for amalgamation with one another or with one of the larger groups. For instance, the Evangelical, United Brethren and Disciples groups already have combined with the Christian-Congregational Church (Kumiai) and the Methodist Protestants have united with the Methodist Episcopal Church. During last spring and early summer, all this had a depressing effect on Church leaders, but largely because of the actions and decisions taken during August, great courage has been aroused and the determination to move on toward one united Church has gained great impetus.

IT IS yet too early to say just what may take place by March 31, 1941, the date by which religious bodies must be approved for official registration in accordance with the provisions of the Religious Bodies Law. It is anticipated, however, that after the organic church union has been effected it will be possible to make the necessary application and receive official sanction according to the new law for one united Christian Church in Japan.

G. B. S. on War

War is no use to me.

War won't let you stop, even if you are fed up to the teeth with it.

We must fight it out to checkmate or stalemate or until we are all dead.

So go to it, however you may curse the folly that started it!

—George Bernard Shaw in the *Town Crier*, Birmingham, England

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Twenty-five Years Ago

World events as interpreted by The Living Age, *March 1916*

IN THE *Nineteenth Century and After*, Moreton Frewen called the war "the legacy of a vicious and incomplete diplomatic instrument—the so-called 'Monroe Doctrine.' . . . Straining at this Doctrine in order to keep her clear of European complications and 'entangling alliances,' the United States has yet been involved by it in *Weltpolitik* to a degree which no other policy could have possibly entailed. The Monroe Doctrine was from the very first dependent on Britain's seapower for its maintenance." The United States was "the wealthiest community in the world, a community that cannot possibly protect this wealth against a German invasion for many years to come. It will be surprising if, peace concluded and Germany terribly impoverished, with perhaps foreign receivers in possession, she does not, her fleet still in being, at once pick a quarrel with the United States. Where can she so readily recoup her great war losses as in those safe deposit vaults in New York? Nor were Germany unsuccessful in such a raid does she risk any reprisals on the part of the United States. It is not Germany that has many thousand miles of coast line, with innumerable cities exposed to attack."

In the same journal, A. Shadwell discussed the possibilities in a "negotiated peace," and decided: "The War cannot be ended by negotiation or compromise, because no treaty of peace concluded with Germany would be worth the paper it is written on. A nominal agreement might conceivably be reached which would permit a cessation of hostilities; but not a single nation would have the smallest faith in it, and everyone would immediately prepare for a renewal of war. I do not mean only those which are now fighting, but neutral countries too. None of them trusts Germany now."

Albania had not been much in the news, "but now," Eduardo P. Ginistrelli wrote in *The Saturday Review* (London), "the retreat of the Serbian Army into Albanian territory, and the mastering of Italian troops bent on aiding King Peter's forces and joining hands with the armies of France and Great Britain, bids fair to bring Albania and its people once more into the forefront of European politics." China "demanded the attention" of the London *Nation*, "even amid a world war. Civil strife in an undeveloped country of immense potential wealth commonly leads to foreign intervention, and the whole future of the Far East may hang on the question whether this intervention can be postponed until the war is over. In the one event the greater part of China may fall under a species of Japanese protectorate; in the other, such regulation as might be necessary from outside would be in-

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ternational, and might with good guidance preserve at once the self-government of the Chinese people and the principle of equal opportunity for foreign trade."

James Davenport Whelpley tried to explain America to British readers of *The Fortnightly Review*. "The average New Yorker has little knowledge of the psychology of the American people as a whole. . . . The center of population of the United States is a thousand miles to the westward, but the New Yorker lives in constant wonder that the North American Continent does not tip up, considering the fact that New York City is on the eastern edge." Washington, on the other hand: "When Congress is not in session this city, one of the most beautiful and charming in America, has the atmosphere of a country village some miles from a railway station. The nation pays very little attention to what is going on there at such times." As an illustration, "The press of New York and Washington, with a few notable exceptions, reflects the perspective of their respective communities. In New York what affects Wall Street or the affairs of New York City is given first place, so much so, in fact, as in ordinary times almost to exclude national or international affairs from any position of importance. In Washington personalities come first, and gossip, political and social, forms the bulk of comment."

The London *Outlook* reported that "the suave Texan colonel [House] is no shirt-sleeves diplomatist, but the President's *alter ego*—an ambassador to ambassadors who are possibly out of touch with 'the feeling and sentiment of the country from which they have been so long absent.' Dr. Page, for instance, 'the most violent Anglophile,' according to the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, now an angry sheet: 'We can expect nothing from him which would be of any use to Germany. . . . Unluckily Herr Page's attitude so completely squares with that of the President that he will remain at his post during the war.' So Colonel House is to warn Herr Page—who has been 'grossly imprudent,' it seems—'to walk more circumspectly.' The shrill organ of 'empty Hamburg' sees the American envoys at sixes and sevens in their sympathies—Page in London, Gerard in Berlin, Penfield in Vienna, Nelson Page in Rome, Morgenthau in Stamboul and Van Dyke at The Hague. Dr. Van Dyke is hailed as a friend—one who sees in the mist new visions of German-American amity and painted peace. The lesser men are also 'mixed,' among them Mr. Brand Whitlock, late of Brussels, who became a *persona non grata* to the invader after his report on Edith Cavell's case."

DESCRIBING *The Wards in Wartime*, *Blackwood's Magazine* wrote: "Cards are great favorites, and, as hours in hospitals are long, long hours, much time is whiled away in playing Solo Whist and Cribbage. . . . Occasionally a very up-to-date patient would remark with pride that he had played a hand of Bridge once in the trenches, but his knowledge would be too hazy to allow him to initiate his fellow patients in the mysteries."

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Books Abroad

BOMBS AND THE TRADE

By STANLEY UNWIN

The Spectator, London

JUST as a spoilt child who cannot get his own way delights in destroying things, so the Nazis in their anger over their failure to invade England seem to derive satisfaction in destroying Wren churches and other beautiful buildings. Their success in this peculiarly non-military activity is universally known. But of their achievements in book destruction the world has not yet heard. Of course, everyone remembers the bonfires they made of much of the best of their own literature, but it is their attack upon the British book trade to which I refer.

For a long while we merely suffered inconvenience. A publisher here or a bookseller there had temporarily to evacuate his premises owing to the proximity of a delayed-action bomb. If it was in his cellar it was not so good; if in an adjoining street not so bad; and most of us had a good many windows broken, which in mild weather was no great calamity. But in the last few weeks, and particularly in the incendiary attack on the City, many millions of books have been destroyed.

Few publishers warehouse their own stock; few of them have premises capable of holding more than their current requirements. It would obviously be uneconomic to store in the heart of London millions of books which may not be required for several years. It must be remembered that for every ephemeral best-seller there are scores of books of which the sale is spread over many years. There are, in fact, thousands of scholarly works whose sale at the rate of thirty to fifty copies a year may continue for a generation. It is seldom economic to *print* less than a thousand at a time, but it is unnecessary to bind the whole edition. Broadly speaking, stock not immediately required is retained by the printers and binders for delivery as and when required. For this reason the destruction of a publisher's premises, though it may completely disorganize his business through the elimination of all his records, and even, if he has not taken adequate precautions, leave him without his agreements with authors, it does not usually deprive him of more than a fraction of his publications. On the other hand, a bomb which happens to fall upon a binder's warehouse in an outlying suburb may leave a publisher with little but his office stock. The exact position varies from firm to firm. One publisher may have his printing and binding done within fifty miles of London; another may have them carried out, for example, in Scotland. Some firms are thus in a more vulnerable position than others. The wise publisher does what he can to spread his risks, but that is not always as easy as it may sound. If part of his sheet-stock is left at the printers, the rest stored at a binder's warehouse separate from the bindery, and a large reserve of bound stock held at the bindery itself, a publisher is in a more secure position than one who has practically the whole of his stock in one place.

This explanation is necessary in order to understand how uneven has been the incidence both of the damage done and the net loss sustained. The compulsory war-risks insurance goes a long way to cover current production, but is largely illusory as far as the residue of the stock of older publications is concerned. The insurance is based upon balance sheet valuations, and the prudent publisher writes down old stock, and particularly sheet-stock (*i.e.*, unbound books), to a nominal figure, because if he *had* to sell it, it would in many cases fetch little,

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whereas over a period of years it may yield thousands of pounds. It is the last two or three hundred copies sold out of an edition of a thousand to fifteen hundred copies which represent the publisher's profit, because when that point has been reached the costs have been covered. If he values this residue at more than a nominal amount he is assuming profits that may never materialize, but if it is destroyed the publisher's chief source of profit goes with it. In normal times it is the publisher with a good "back list" who is in the strongest position, but in wartime the more prudent he has been the more he is apt to be penalized.

Fortunately, unlike Wren churches, most books can be readily reproduced, and, thanks to the development of photo-lithography, more economically than would have been practicable during the last war. There is thus no danger of the Nazis depriving us of the more popular books, because, given sufficient demand, they can be reprinted more quickly than the Nazis can destroy them. It is, alas! the scholarly books, for which the demand is limited, that it will not pay to reprint. At least a thousand titles in my own list, for example, will go out of print when our limited bound stocks are exhausted. Of the 1,400,000 books destroyed in which I was personally interested, only a small proportion will ever be replaced. But other publishers whose current or unpublished books have been destroyed will rapidly replace them, and have in some cases already done so.

I cannot pretend to give a complete list of the many publishers who have suffered loss. Amongst the first to have large stocks destroyed at the binders were Cassells and Gollancz. George Allen & Unwin, John Lane, the Bodley Head and many others followed all too soon thereafter as the result of the complete destruction of two large warehouses in which publishers' sheet-stock was stored in solid blocks from floor to ceiling. The bindery, some miles away, to which the warehouse belonged, had had a bomb on the corner of its works about a fortnight before, but thanks to the promptitude with which the bound stock was moved under cover, the publishers' losses had proved negligible, and I had been congratulating the binders on their and our own good fortune. I spoke too soon! Other firms who lost considerable stock about that time included Baillière, Tindall & Cox, Duckworth, Harrap, and Werner Laurie.

But worse was to come. Paternoster Row has long ceased to be the geographical center of publishing, which has moved westward toward Covent Garden and the British Museum, but many famous houses still remained there. Today the "Row" is a pathetic sight. From the Warwick Lane end where Blackwoods, Longmans, Nelsons and Hutchinsons are situated, as far as the eye can see, the buildings have been gutted by fire. Stationers' Hall has been still further damaged, and the Publishers' Association had hastily to evacuate their room in the basement. The leading wholesale booksellers, Simpkin Marshall, of Stationers' Hall Court, and their incomparable stock of—it is said—4,000,000 books, have been completely wiped out, and the trade has thereby lost an important cog in its distributive machinery.

Other publishers in the vicinity whose premises have been devastated are Collins, Ward Lock, Eyre & Spottiswoode, and Whitakers, but there are many more, in addition to a long list of retail booksellers. Perhaps the most hardly hit were Longmans, because on the night that their premises were gutted, the warehouse where most of their stock was stored, although some miles away, was likewise hit. Fortunately for them their offices had been transferred to an outer suburb, and in their case, as in most others, there were no casualties.

ALTHOUGH the book trade has had peculiarly hard knocks, there is no sign of any depression. On the contrary, there is greater confidence and greater determination to maintain supplies than at any time since the war began. The public should, however, remember two things—first, that many books will go out of print sooner than would otherwise have been the case and thereafter be obtainable secondhand only at a premium, and secondly, that stocks which are replaced will probably cost more. The inducements to buy *now* are thus considerable.

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Our Own Bookshelf

THE BATTLE FOR ASIA. *By Edgar Snow. New York: Random House. 1941. 431 pages. $3.75.*

Reviewed by OLAND D. RUSSELL

THE BATTLE for Asia, in the conception of Edgar Snow, is not so much the conflict between China and Japan but a battle against the whole system of imperial colonies and its basic denial of every feasible scheme of international co-operation. While he believes that Japanese military imperialism is destined to fairly early oblivion, he submits that years of battle may lie ahead. Any compromise reached between the old and new imperialisms, he postulates, can in its nature only be provisional, unless the necessity for change is reconciled by some new scheme of intelligent world planning.

He believes that the "problem" in the Orient is indissolubly connected with the "problem" in the Occident and the solution of one need not be attempted without solution of the other. He favors complete support for the English people in their struggle for freedom but there remains the fact that Britain and her democratic dominions are not the same thing as Britain the colonial power—"the contradiction which may have to be resolved in Europe and Asia if England the democracy herself is to survive and develop." He believes strongly that the world will see no peace and order until the subject peoples become free, and that, in a larger sense, is the crux of the battle for Asia.

In the vanguard of the battle are, of course, the Chinese people and with them the fullest measure of Mr. Snow's sympathies and love lie. For the Chinese "can take it." Long after the Austrians, the Czechs, the Poles, the Danes, the Norwegians, the Dutch, Belgians, French and Rumanians have gone down in defeat, the ragged, backward, miserably poor China is in there fighting and actually pressing back the invading Japanese. An astounding showing for a country which Tokyo was fond of depicting as "not a state but only a geographical expression." And European observers were saying in 1937 that China would not last six months against the mechanized forces of Japan!

China's war, Mr. Snow holds, has proved that democracy can fight more effectively than dictatorship. He acknowledges that China is not a true democracy and he believes this has accounted for much of its failure, but the vitality of such democracy as the Chinese have developed during the war has saved the nation from decisive defeat. And China, he would remind you, has produced no traitors worse than Europe's fifth columnists, no errors of command more costly than the blunders of the Allies, and no crimes of diplomacy to surpass the miscalculations of Chamberlainism.

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You would not have to know Edgar Snow personally to sense the extreme honesty with which this book is written. Too many over-enthusiastic pleaders of the cause of China have compromised themselves by discounting the strength of Japan and the weakness of the Chinese. Mr. Snow has no patience with the experts who were so hasty to predict Japan's economic collapse, and he warns against the error of underestimating the striking power Japan still has in reserve. Indeed, his chapter on "Japan's Chances" is unexpectedly as enlightening a passage on Japan's internal strength and weaknesses as may be found anywhere within the knowledge of the reviewer. "The key weakness in Japan's scheme of conquest," he summarizes, "is perhaps neither economic nor military but lies in her political tactics and strategy." Of Japan's absurd political strategy he has considerable to say—the implausibility of Japan's disemboweling men in one end of town while preaching Pan-Asianism in the other; of scattering anti-Chiang Kai-shek propaganda among Chiang's troops and anti-Red propaganda among Communists, instead of vice versa; and of Japan's inability to win any substantial local following for puppet-rule purposes.

By contrast, the Chinese seem to excel in political strategy. So much so, Japan has the utmost misgivings over her prisoners that fall into the hands of the Chinese. The Chinese Eighth Route Army, for instance, sends its captives to the rear where they are given a two-months' course in "re-education" designed to show them China has no quarrel with the Japanese people whom they regard as brothers. That is why returned prisoners are not welcomed by the Japanese. The mere fact that a Japanese can return alive from a Chinese prison is considered harmful to Japanese morale. Japanese casualty reports have never admitted the capture of any troops.

The Chinese have built up a combat efficiency in guerrilla warfare perhaps unequalled in history. Hundreds of different devices are perpetrated on the Japanese. A number of guerrillas dressed in the bright attire of young women working in the fields near Japanese camps invariably attract a sortie to seize the women. The "women" run and lead the Japanese into a trap that proves disastrous. The Japanese hunger for meat offers another opportunity. They foolhardily go after cows or sheep attractively planted on distant hillsides by the guerrillas, and go to their doom. Dummy cannons are set up to deceive planes, false detours are built on the roads and peaceful villages are staffed by guerrilla bands who ambush the invaders. As fast as their foes learn one trick the guerrillas invent another.

This is, in final analysis, the detailed story of China's three years of warfare against the imperialist forces of Japan. No approach to an understanding of this conflict should be attempted without recourse to this book of Edgar Snow's, and no short appraisal can suggest the depth and detail with which the subject is covered. Indelible word pictures of the character of Chiang Kai-shek, of the Communist leaders, of the incredible battle of Shanghai in 1937, the rape of Nan-

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king, the migration of a whole nation to Western China and the work of China's industrial co-operatives appear in its pages. And a great maturity of viewpoint, pleasantness of style and obvious rationality characterize the writing.

THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN'S NEW ORDER. *By William C. Johnstone. New York: Oxford University Press. 1941. 392 pages, with index. $3.00.*

DESPITE the millions of words turned out each year by self-appointed experts on Far Eastern affairs, in the end little of definite or constructive worth remains. Largely, this is doubtless due to the fact that many of the magazine articles and books dealing with Asia are turned out either in a white heat of emotional partisanship, or by journalists forced by publishers' deadlines to do no more than skim the muddied surface of current Asiatic affairs. The resultant effect on the reading public is one of confusion as to the actual issues now at stake in the Chinese-Japanese conflict.

Dr. Johnstone's present book is more in line with such sober, documentary works as Professor Griswold's *The Far Eastern Policy of the United States*, Harold Vinacke's *A History of the Far East in Modern Times* and *American Diplomacy in the Orient* by John W. Foster. In many ways, it brings the history of our relations with Japan—and indirectly with China—up to date, and serves as an excellent guidebook to the delicate diplomatic relations that have existed between Japan and the United States since 1937.

Roughly, Dr. Johnstone deals with three separate issues in our Far Eastern relations. First: the effects of the Chinese-Japanese conflict on American rights in China. Second: the effects on American trade in China. Third: the changing Far Eastern policy of the United States as a result of the Chinese-Japanese war, and later as a result of the European war.

Under the first heading, Dr. Johnstone discusses the violation of certain American rights in China as a result of the present hostilities—notably those of extraterritoriality and special rights in special areas. Here, it seems, the author follows too readily the accepted views of more biased writers, without applying the cool objectivity of his later section on trade in China. While admitting that American rights in Japanese-occupied China have been reserved, he insists that nevertheless they have been violated in spirit. This is probably true, but it should be remembered that those special rights, including extraterritoriality, have long been protested by the Chinese themselves, and were in the gradual process of being abrogated when the present conflict started. Their importance, then, in a work of this sort, seems somewhat over-exaggerated.

It is in the section dealing with American interests in China that Dr. Johnstone does most toward clarifying the present confused picture of our trade relations. He brings out the seldom mentioned and little appreciated fact that American trade in China has more than held up. To quote: "The evidence . . . presents one definite con-

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clusion, namely, that American trade with China as a whole has not been seriously affected by the Chinese-Japanese conflict."

In conclusion, the author puts forth his own program for a peaceful Asia. His suggestions include, besides the withdrawal of Japanese troops from China south of the Great Wall, the cancelling of present extraterritoriality rights, American commercial concessions to the Japanese, and abolition of the present humiliating immigration restrictions.

The wisdom of his advocacy of an embargo to enforce Japanese acceptance of these suggestions is, however, open to debate. Next to cotton, oil is the most important essential shipped to Japan. The current figures of the American Petroleum Institute show that while Japan bought a bit over one and one-half million tons of crude oil from firms in the United States during 1940, she bought over two million tons from American firms in the Netherlands Indies and Saudi Arabia.

In view of this, the positive value of an embargo seems highly speculative.

—Joseph Hilton Smyth

Versailles Twenty Years After. *By Paul Birdsall. New York: Reynal & Hitchcock. 1941. 350 pages, Index and Bibliography. $3.00.*

FOR a decade or more the need has been evident for a reappraisal of the Versailles Treaty, and that need is more than ever imperative at this time when Hitler is waging a war on the chief premises that he was obliged to because of this Versailles *"Diktat."* In this solid and painstaking volume, Professor Birdsall makes an effort to get at the realities of this controversial pact, the genesis also of the League of Nations. They have, in more than twenty years, been obscured by quarrels not only between chancelleries but even among war-genesis scholars on both sides of the Atlantic. From an adulation that was almost worldwide, at the time of the conference, Woodrow Wilson has come today, in many places, to be reviled chiefly on the grounds of his co-authorship of Versailles—which, certainly, emerged from the protracted conference in a far different shape than that originally conceived by the American President. The author well states that "Woodrow Wilson symbolized the forces of reason in the fight for a peace of justice. He spoke too much the language of idealism and self-sacrifice, and too little the plain language of a genuine community of interests, and to that extent he brought upon himself the misrepresentation which obscured his real role in the Paris Peace Conference, and contributed to the defeat of his program in the United States."

Professor Birdsall is not only concerned here with the actual mechanics of the conference, which he writes with an admirable sense of the horse-trading behind-the-scenes, but also with Versailles vis-à-vis the peace to come. What lessons are there in Versailles that the next victors must learn, if another catastrophe is not to overtake the world (if it survives this war) another score of years after peace? For lessons there are in abundance. The author by no means is writing the

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conventional diatribe against the Men of Versailles. The treaty had its admirable points: "Hard as it is to visualize in 1941, it would not be surprising if the negotiators of the new Versailles were to recreate Poland and Czechoslovakia within something like the original Versailles boundaries." And, elsewhere, the author points out that "the territorial settlements contained in the various treaties negotiated at Paris are still, with all their faults, the closest approximation to an ethnographic map of Europe that has ever been achieved. If the next peace conference does better, it will be because of the achievements, as well as the mistakes, of Versailles. It can scarcely hope to do better unless some leading figure is prepared to undertake the role of Woodrow Wilson in restraining the forces of extravagant nationalism. It will take a brave man to assume that role."

Professor Birdsall observes aptly, in his conclusion, that "the intellectual nihilism of the twenty years since Versailles has destroyed faith in the Wilsonian program at Paris. By misrepresenting the character of the treaty, the motives that inspired it, above all by denial of any genuine American stake in European settlement, it has provided the strongest moral force by which Hitler 'softens' his victims before striking them down with physical force. The disillusioned liberal has been the unwitting ally of the cynical advocate of physical force as the only conceivable basis for world politics." The reference to Hitler is provocative, and there is certainly validity to it, as Archibald MacLeish also stressed in his long pamphlet last year, *The Irresponsibles.*

The book is excellent in conception and execution. If the definitive study on Versailles cannot be written until Colonel House's unpublished diary is made available to historians, nevertheless Professor Birdsall's *Versailles Twenty Years After* belongs in the library of everyone concerned in the peace to come.

—L. M.

PILSUDSKI. *By Alexandra Pilsudska. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. 1941. 352 pages. $3.00.*

OF ALL the "new men" and national leaders who emerged in Europe after the collapse of the old empires, following World War I, Joseph Pilsudski was perhaps the most picturesque, the most romantic and certainly one of the most heroic figures. While men like Hitler and Mussolini were, due to their oratory, pushed forward by army leaders of their countries to defeat popular movements more or less threatening the established economic order, Pilsudski was the leader of the secret socialist revolutionary party of Russian Poland, the famous P. P. S., and the head of its terrorist fighting group. Hitler could never have come to power without the support of the Reichswehr, nor Mussolini without the consent of the King and his generals, and Stalin also achieved power only after the Soviet Republic was firmly established by Lenin, and after the defeat of the monarchist counter-revolutions by the Red Army organized by Trotsky. But Pilsudski became the chief of his nation after fighting for its freedom as a conspirator, and guerrilla fighter, after combatting the armies and the police of the Tsar, under whose autocracy two-thirds of the Poles lived, deprived of all civil and political rights.

During the World War, he organized legions consisting of Poles from Russia, Austria and Poland, and led them against the Tsar's armies to whose defeat he greatly contributed, preparing the ground for the German victories against Russia. This

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accomplished, the Germans promptly emprisoned Pilsudski in the fortress of Magdeburg, because his freedom would have interfered with the German plans of establishing a Polish vassal kingdom with a German prince. The defeat of Germany freed Pilsudski who then, with the acclaim of the whole nation, became "Chief of State" of Poland.

In this biography, Mme. Pilsudska tells much of this period of his life, together with her own participation in the movements for the liberation of Poland. Mme. Pilsudska may be forgiven for presenting her husband as a pure knight in spotless armor, since few Poles felt differently about him during this period of his life. But the years which followed Pilsudski's assumption of power did not justify the idealization presented here by his widow. Instead of working for the establishment of republican democracy and improvement of the miserable lot of the peasants—as promised in his party's Socialist program —Pilsudski dreamt of establishing Poland as a world power. He started on military adventures against Soviet Russia for the "reconquest" of the Russian Ukraine which, although not inhabited by Poles, once in history belonged to Poland. After the defeat of Russia, with the help of General Weygand, he annexed a large stretch of Russian territory beyond the Curzon Line established by the Allies, who certainly were not friendly to Soviet Russia, and thus laid the basis for an enduring Russian resentment. Another Polish attack on Lithuania annexed almost half of that country and its capital Vilno. The League of Nations was defied by Pilsudski when at Geneva, rejecting all attempts at reconciliation he threatened Lithuania with war if it did not recognize Poland's sovereignty over the occupied territory. The League, as well as Lithuania, had to submit to his threats. Later he threw members of the Polish Parliament, who had been his comrades-in-arms, into concentration camps, where they were not better treated than now under Hitler.

But such facts are entirely omitted in this book or passed over lightly with attempt at justification. There is also only a slight allusion to the one great thing Pilsudski could have accomplished if he had succeeded in persuading the Allies to act on his suggestion to wage a "preventive war" against Germany at the time Hitler started to rearm. Had he succeeded, all his sins might have been forgiven.

A critical, historical biography of Pilsudski would throw a clearer life on the man and his time than this loving panegyric.

—STEPHEN NAFT

ROMAN PORTRAITS. *Phaidon Edition. Foreword by L. Goldscheider. New York: Oxford University Press. 120 plates. 1941. $3.50.*

THIS is a new volume in the admirable art series issued by the Phaidon Press. Coming out of London at this time, it is a testimony to a civilization that can produce such a scholarly work in a moment of crisis. Here is a book not only for art students and historians but for readers of current events. In this epoch of modern Caeserism, the story of Rome contains illuminating parallels. One hundred and twenty magnificent photographs give us the history of the Empire in all its stark reality and omnipotence. L. Goldscheider, in a foreword which traces the development of the Roman portrait, remarks that "a traveller in foreign lands may often learn more from studying the faces of their inhabitants than from 'seeing the sights.' Now, in this book are reproduced the *imagines* of the fathers of European culture, and one who becomes acquainted with their leading characteristics will find an access into our own past."

These portraits of men and women of the first four centuries after Christ speak to us today with a peculiar intimacy. Through all the political and social changes of the Empire, one characteristic remains predominant in all these faces, binding them in one spiritual unity—the ever-present urge of the will to power. It is not only evident in the stern puritannical heads of the Republic, but is omnipresent in the sensuously refined features of the Augustan Age and in the Impressionist heads of the Flavian epoch. It appears naked and unadorned in the faces of the minor Emperors of the third century—rude soldiers elevated from the barracks to the throne —and its shadow falls across the faces

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An April Feature

Letters and Arts in Wartime Europe

by EUGENE JOLAS

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of the Constantinian age, where the dawn of a new spirit is reflected in the eyes. Most of all, the will to power is exemplified in the women's portraits—in those harsh matriarchs who became the mothers of the Caesars and in the portraits of the empresses, whose aristocratic features always retain something austere and masculine.

In looking through this book, one might be able to deduce the fate of the Empire from the stylistic changes of the sculpture. The early heads have the blind eyes of classic Greek statues, where the universal type rather the individual was portrayed. The carving is done with the chisel, an instrument which affirms the material nature of the marble. In the Flavian epoch, realism is succeeded by an impressionism derived from painting, in which a sensuous veil seems to soften the features; the Empire is consolidating its power in relative tranquility. But not long after Hadrian, the sculptor begins to employ the drill; thereby creating deep shadows and highlights, a method that denies the coporeal nature of his material. And in the second century, the eye comes to life; the pupil is carved. Sometimes it is bored with a drill, magnified, giving an expressionist effect. This new departure begins with the Fayum portraits in Egypt and rapidly spreads over all the Roman territories. The influence of the East and of the new Christian faith is interpenetrating the decaying Empire with a new spirit. We see the dawn of the soul of modern man in these wide open eyes that look beyond the body into a new world. Long before Constantine, the artist sensed the great change taking place and, as Spengler noted, "in every architrave, in every frieze there is to be found a secret battle between the conscious old and the unconscious, but victorious, new motives."

—CHARMION VON WIEGAND

ENGLAND'S HOUR. *By Vera Brittain. New York: Macmillan Company. 1941. 230 pages. $2.50.*

VERA BRITTAIN'S study of civilian England in wartime is a valuable footnote to contemporary history. In the form of an intimate personal record, it gives her own experiences and observations from the

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early days of the war through the first months of the London blitzkrieg. She approaches the subject from different angles —some of them unusual ones—and draws vivid pictures of the heroic men and women who are holding the front line and gallantly struggling to carry on semi-normal lives and help their neighbors under the most difficult circumstances. Her account of the actual destruction wrought by bombing in London during the period covered, giving names and details of places, is the fullest that has appeared anywhere and will offer fresh information to the most careful reader of newspapers.

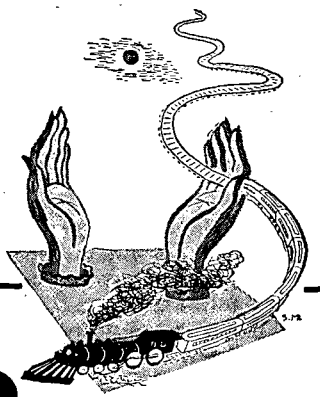
Although Miss Brittain disclaims any intention of drawing conclusions, in the absence of a final perspective which the closeness of events renders impossible, this thoughtful book, unlike some others on the same subject, is not concerned merely with externals. It does attempt to probe beneath the surface and to ask searching questions on many matters. It is informed by the same deep sense of the pity and wastefulness of war, the same aspiration for a better international order, that made its author one of England's most ardent workers for peace during the whole of the inter-war period. Miss Brittain believes that now, in the midst of the present tragedy, it is not too early to think of the "total reconstruction of values" that should follow the war. And she believes also, "after witnessing London's endurance of its crucifixion without panic or vindictiveness," that the British people, by reason of something very fundamental in its character, is better able than any other people to lead the way.

—C. K. CUMMING

WAR AND THE AMERICAS. *By J. V. Garland. New York: H. V. Wilson Co. 1941. 564 pages. $2.00.*

This book is largely a compilation of well-done condensations of important articles and reports published in American newspapers and magazines. It is a most comprehensive and up-to-date complement to all recent books on Latin America and its relations with the United States and a mine of information for students, lecturers and writers.

The introductory chapter analyzes the



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nature of the present world conflict and the crisis of democracy precipitated by the promises of nazism, fascism and communism—how it must be interpreted not by theories of economic determinism but as a clash between the forces of human progress as represented by the Western World and those which, under various but similar slogans of a "new order," seek to return the world to the political and social system of the old order of hierarchial rule by an "aristocracy" of force and brutality.

The book contains ample and authoritative information on fifth-column activities in Latin America. It surveys all attempts made so far at Hemisphere co-operation and solidarity, such as the earliest Latin-American efforts to realize the vision of Bolívar, the Pan American Union, a short history of all international conferences of the American states from the first in Washington in 1889 to the eighth in Lima in 1938 and the recent weighty meetings in Panama and Havana. The history of the Monroe Doctrine is recapitulated, how originally this unilateral declaration was ignored or even opposed by our neighbors to the South—and not without reason—when it was used as a cloak for Dollar Diplomacy or the Big-Brother-With-a-Bigger Stick attitude. Finally it became the Good Neighbor policy to mature into Hemisphere solidarity for mutual defense against threats of aggression from across either the Pacific or Atlantic oceans. The final chapter takes up the technical problems of inter-American co-operation involving international law and economic and military defense and the possible contributions of the various American countries toward their mutual goal.

One useful reference feature of the book is the verbatim quotation of several important conference resolutions and official statements of various governments. It is only regrettable that such an important source book should have been published without an index (though the table of contents is fairly comprehensive). A twenty-four-page pamphlet with about 400 true-and-false questions for use with college classes, debating groups, etc. is included.

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